Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-201 *17 October 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Arms Elimination Procedures, Costs Urged

PM1110102991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Oct 91 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Golts "Observer's Opinion": "Reply Without Threat"]

[Text] The Soviet Union will take counteractions... From the time of that very famous poster depicting an aircraft with a fist in the shape of a fig instead of a propeller and the inscription "Our reply to Chamberlain" until recently this concept was invested with very definite meaning. We were being threatened: They were organizing military provocations, concentrating troops on the borders, creating the atom bomb, deploying the strategic triad, developing SDI. And we were taking countermeasures. That is, we too were threatening.

And now it seems that the film will be run backward: The disarmament race is beginning. Our reply to Bush, who has proposed a really radical reduction in nuclear arsenals, has followed quickly, despite the opinion of skeptics. And it has been heard quite definitely. I will not retell it. I will only point out that we have largely agreed with Washington. Both as regards radical reductions of tactical nuclear weapons, and in taking strategic systems off alert status, and in ending the development of individual types of offensive arms. We have proposed going further in some respects: not to place in storage but to eliminate naval tactical arms. And to place landmines [fugas] and front-line aviation missiles in storage. There are other proposals too. And I do not see here any desire to outdo the Americans. It is, rather, that increased trust is encouraging the sides to take increasingly bold steps. The Soviet Union, for example, has declared a moratorium on nuclear tests and again urged [the United States] to subscribe to it. Only recently people in the United States would have regarded this as an act of pure propaganda. But, citing official administration spokesmen, THE WASHINGTON TIMES now reports that "under the new conditions the United States might reconsider its negative attitude to the introduction of tougher restrictions on nuclear tests."

The thing is that the Soviet Union now takes a totally different approach to disputed problems. Let us take the question of missiles with multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles. I will remind you that Bush has proposed beginning talks on the elimination of such ground-launched missiles, leaving aside those missiles deployed on submarines. The USSR evidently disagrees with such an approach. But, at the same time, Moscow displays understanding of Washington's concern. And therefore M.S. Gorbachev draws attention to the fact that 134 of the 503 ICBM's which have been taken off alert status have multiple reentry vehicles, that we will not modernize missile complexes on railroad flatcars, and that we will remove several missile-carrying submarines from the arsenal.

Moscow is also seeking a compromise on such a complex problem as SDI. We suggest to the United States that the possibility be examined of creating joint systems to warn of a nuclear missile strike with ground- and space-based elements.

The measures proposed by M.S. Gorbachev can also resolve some of our internal political problems. For, as far as I understand it, it is proposed to eliminate weapons, a considerable proportion of which I am afraid will become (or have already become?) an object of dispute between the republics and the center. It seems that it is now, after M.S. Gorbachev's statement, the turn of the republic leaders to state their position clearly and definitely.

The voices of skeptics are to be heard asking: Will the disarmament race not be just as ruinous as the arms race? There are grounds for such anxiety. Unlike the United States, where a broad debate is already being conducted over what Bush's initiatives will mean for the economy, in our country emotions reign. The thing is that neither the public nor the legislators know how much it costs to create particular types of weapons. Nor do they know what it will cost to place them in storage or eliminate them.

Meanwhile, what M.S. Gorbachev needs today, in my view, is not so much support for his initiatives abroad as understanding on the part of the USSR population. The very population that is concerned not so much about the threat of nuclear war as about the coming hungry and cold winter. It is to its feelings that those who declare that disarmament is disastrous for our economy appeal. In this situation the president must be followed up by those who will say just how it is proposed to eliminate nuclear weapons and how much this will cost.

TASS Observer Remarks on New ABM Treaty

LD1610184891 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS military observer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—By far not all military specialists share the view that the realization of the American proposal for the Soviet Union to participate in the development of a space-, land- and air-based non-nuclear anti-ballistic missile defence system "will meet the interests not only of the peoples of the USSR but of the world as a whole". Even in the U.S. Congress the curtailed Strategic Defence Initiative version evokes heated debates and highlights differences.

However, there is no doubt that the U.S. President's latest arms control initiatives and the Soviet president's response to them mark the two countries' departure from their seemingly irreconcilable views on the development of the anti-ballistic missile projects.

The United States actually intends to give up its earlier version of a large-scale anti-ballistic missile system to be

deployed across the country and plans to permit a limited deployment of non-nuclear defence systems against limited nuclear strikes. The Soviet Union has announced its readiness "to discuss the American proposal for non-nuclear systems of anti-missile defences".

Objections against deploying a new, even if curtailed, ABM system step primarily from the awareness of its very high cost and lack of confidence in its efficiency. Even if only one per cent of the world's present strategic potential reaches targets in the Soviet Union or the United States, this will lead to "unacceptable damage", to use a Pentagon idiom. A one-hundred percent protection against a nuclear strike is practically impossible.

Washington officials admit that if President Bush's proposals are accepted, the 1972 AMB treaty will have to be revised or amended. Amendments will most likely concern the increase in the number of areas where ABM systems may be deployed—the earlier treaty permitted the deployment of land-based ABM systems in one area only.

Any version of the ABM system will lead to the expansion of military activity to involve other spheres, including space. Moreover, it will result not in an arms race but in the unilateral growth of military potential in the United States.

Taking into account the complicated economic situation in the Soviet Union, there is no point for the country to spend colossal resources to create new ABM systems.

Many American journalists believe that the United States do not need even the curtailed AMB system in the present conditions. They say President Bush has come out with the ABM initiative seeking to pacify the conservative forces in the United States, for which the Star Wars programme has become a sacred cow, as they put it. And they may well be right in this.

The mutually acceptable solution of the AMB problem for the Soviet and American sides, it seems, should be part of a compromise involving a wide range of nuclear and non-nuclear arms in both countries.

Envoy to PRC: Arms To Remain in Far East

OW1510152191 Tokyo KYODO in English 1454 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Beijing, Oct. 15 KYODO—Soviet Ambassador to China Nikolay Solovyev indicated Tuesday [15 October] that Soviet forces are likely to delay withdrawing surface tactical nuclear arms deployed in the Soviet Far East despite President Mikhail Gorbachev's sweeping nuclear arms cut proposal disclosed earlier this month.

Solovyev said Tuesday in an interview with KYODO News Service that the surface tactical nuclear arms will be removed from the European region first due to jurisdictional difficulties.

He said there is some uncertainty over control because nuclear arms deployed in the European region are distributed over several republics of the Soviet Union. He attributed the delay in their removal from the Far East to the domestic situation in the Soviet Union.

Solovyev said neither China or Japan pose a threat to the Soviet Union. However, some Western observers have said the Soviets are considering maintaining a deterrent against China.

Gorbachev did not disclose detailed procedures for removal of the surface tactical nuclear arms.

Worldwide Issues

Foreign Ministry's Churkin Gives News Briefing

Assesses Situations in Zaire, Chad

LD1610213691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—The Soviet Government gives positive assessment to the fact that, based on a compromise reached by different political movements, a transition anticrisis government was formed in Zaire. This was announced during a briefing in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the information directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He added that it is hoped in the Soviet Union that the new government will be able to find a way out of the serious crisis Zaire is going through, and to promote the general stabilization of the situation in this large African country.

The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry expressed concern about the fact that the situation in Chad, where a coup attempt was foiled a few days ago, has become more complicated. He underlined that the USSR views the events unfolding in Chad as a strictly internal matter of that country, and is firmly convinced that the existing problems must be solved by Chadians themselves in conditions in which peace would be ensured and democratic freedoms observed, and without outside intervention.

Pankin Visit to Middle East Detailed

LD1610155191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—Tomorrow USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin will start his working tour of the Middle East with a visit to Israel, where talks

between him and David Levi, foreign minister of t' country, and a meeting with Prime Minister Yit. Shamir will be held. This was reported by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing today.

On the morning of 18 October, as planned, a meeting between Pankin and James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, will take place. On the same day a meeting between the minister and Palestinian representatives will be held.

On 19 October Pankin will go to Syria, on 20 October to Jordan, and on 21 October to Egypt. Vitaliy Churkin reported that in each of these three countries the USSR foreign minister will meet leaders of states and foreign political departments.

On 22 October Pankin will fly to Paris to take part in the work of a peace conference on Cambodia, which is opening the next day. Bilateral meetings between the Soviet minister and his colleagues from the countries taking part in the conference will also be held in Paris.

Comments on Relations With Japan

LD1610170191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow, 16th Oct (TASS)—In the Soviet Union and Japan there is a definite understanding of what the conclusion of a peace agreement between these two countries should mean, in particular, the resolution of the territorial problem, stated Vitaliy Churkin, the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate. Answering journalists' questions at the latest briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, he noted that the Soviet Union is interested in seeing this happen as soon as possible. The USSR, emphasized the representative of the foreign policy department, wants to have the best possible good-neighborly relations with Japan.

Vitaliy Churkin recalled that the question of a peace treaty was a paramount issue at the meetings between the USSR and Japanese foreign ministers. During those meetings, he noted, the Soviet side put forward, among other things, a number of proposals for vigorous and effective work toward the conclusion of a peace treaty. To this end a special working sub-group was set up under the leadership of Georgiy Kunadze, Russia's deputy minister of foreign affairs, who will concentrate exclusively on territorial questions.

The USSR Government believes, Vitaliy Churkin said, that the steps it is taking to reduce the Soviet military presence in the southern Kuril Islands, as well as the agreement on visa-free visits by Japanese citizens to the southern Kuril Islands and by inhabitants of the southern Kuril Islands to Japan, which was concluded during the Japanese minister's visit to Moscow, will create an atmosphere in which it will be possible to discuss the territorial question more effectively and productively.

Remarks on Finnish Consultations

LD1610183591 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow, October 16 TASS—Soviet-Finnish preliminary consultations on a new bilateral agreement to replace the 1948 Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance ended in Moscow on Wednesday, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing at the ministry press centre on Wednesday [16 October].

Soviet and Finnish Foreign Ministry experts stressed a new document will provide the basis for long-term cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Churkin said both sides agreed the Soviet Union and Finland should base their relations with each other and other countries on equality, renunciation of the use and of a threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, partnership and cooperation.

The Soviet and Finnish experts discussed bilateral relations and urgent international issues, including a forthcoming CSCE summit meeting, Helsinki-2.

Churkin Announces Consultative Board Members

OW1110213891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1626 GMT 11 Oct 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Poet Oljas Suleymenov known for campaigning in favour of banning nuclear tests and closing down the test site near Semipalatinsk, Academician Alexey Yablokov, USSR People's Deputy, a leader of the ecological movement, another USSR deputy—Andrey Sebentsov, heading the human rights movement in the USSR Supreme Soviet—and Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the foreign relations and economic links committee of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, have agreed to sit as members of the USSR Foreign Ministry's consultative board—the so-called "collegium." This information was given to DP [Diplomatic Panorama] on the telephone by the head of the Ministry's Information Department Vitaliy Churkin who noted that V. Lukin and A. Yablokov attended the session of the collegium yesterday, October 10, and "took a most active part" in its work.

V. Churkin went on to say that the session discussed vital issues including measures to implement the initiatives

by President M. Gorbachev on disarmament, and the results of talks on this problem with the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew. Also considered were "general questions of Soviet foreign policies in the transitional period" and the results of the Human Dimension Conference in Moscow.

Much attention was given, says V. Churkin, to the coming meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Union and the republics which is likely to be held after the return of the USSR Foreign Minister B. Pankin from his trip to the Middle East and then to Paris where he will attend an international conference on a settlement in Cambodia. The approximate date for the meeting is early next month, to be specified after consultations with the republics.

The session also discussed some personnel changes. V. Churkin explains that its decisions in this field are of consultative value, subject to approval by President Gorbachev or Minister Pankin. It would be premature to divulge any new appointments.

Nevertheless, new appointments are coming, such as some new ambassadors in place of those who disgraced themselves during the August putsch. Named among them are the Soviet ambassadors to Britain Leonid Zamyatin and to Sweden—Nikolay Uspenskiy.

Military Forces in Kurils To Be Reduced

AU1410131091 Paris AFP in English 1300 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, Oct 14 (AFP)—The Soviet Union announced Monday [14 October] that it would reduce its military presence on the disputed Kuril Islands by one-third starting immediately.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said the decision was "unilateral" and could be followed soon by further cuts in Soviet troop strength on the islands.

The spokesman, Vitaliy Churkin, said there were presently around 8,000 troups on the four islands.

Bush Remarks on NATO Meeting With Leaders

PM1410200591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 91 p 4

[From PRAVDA-TASS roundup dated 14 October under "24 Hours" rubric: "United States"]

[Text] At Camp David, G. Bush answered journalists' questions about Soviet-U.S. relations.

Question: Will there be a meeting with Gorbachev, maybe at the NATO meeting in Rome or somewhere else, on nuclear problems?

Answer: I do not know. A decision has not been made on the NATO meeting. As you know, according to existing proposals, active communication will be maintained with the Soviets. And then, I think, a meeting with the Soviet leaders might be appropriate at some time. The republics are playing an ever greater role and want to play an ever greater role. So it is a little early at present to say precisely how this meeting might be organized.

Lobov Gauges Response to Disarmament Initiatives

Meets Austrian Inspector General

LD1310150591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 12 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Excerpts] Vienna, 12 Oct (TASS)—Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff, arrived in Vienna today and met with Karl Maichen, Austrian Armed Forces inspector general. [passage omitted]

The two men spoke highly of the Soviet-Austrian space flight to the "Mir" orbital station which has just been completed, noting the important role played by the countries' defense ministers in preparing and carrying this out. Speaking with the TASS correspondent, Maichen expressed himself in favor of the far-reaching disarmament initiatives put forward by the U.S. and USSR Presidents. In his words, Austria supports all moves leading to a consolidation of peace and security.

Meets German, Bulgarian Counterparts

LD1410033991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0006 GMT 13 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna, 13 Oct (TASS)—Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, had a meeting here the evening of 12 October with Bundeswehr Inspector General Klaus Naumann.

According to what the Soviet military chief told a TASS correspondent after the meeting, there was a frank and detailed conversation on various aspects of the problems of guaranteeing international security. The military doctrines of the USSR and German Armed Forces, and also of NATO, were discussed. Several issues concerning tactical nuclear weapons were examined.

Lobov and Naumann came out in support of the disarmament initiatives put forward by the U.S. and USSR presidents. They stressed that this process must not stop, and that it must be developed.

K. Naumann talked about the state of the FRG Armed Forces and prospects for developing them. He announced that by 1994 Bundeswehr personnel will be reduced to 370,000 servicemen. All weapons and ammunition "inherited" by Germany from the GDR will be destroyed.

V. Lobov confirmed that the schedule for withdrawing Soviet forces from Germany will be strictly observed. This statement was greeted with satisfaction by the German side.

The Bundeswehr inspector general stated that the FRG is ready to stretch out a helping hand to the USSR during a difficult period in its development, and to offer assistance in all areas, confirming the official line of the German Government.

On the same day V. Lobov met Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Armed Forces, at the latter's request. The Bulgarian military chief spoke in favor of developing and deepening military cooperation with the USSR, stressing the need for the relevant accords to be signed very soon, and also for agreements on cooperation in other areas.

The sides exchanged information about the situation in their countries. Having examined specific issues of miltary and technical cooperation, they noted the importance of further improving it against a background of the creation of a new political structure for Europe.

Lobov, Powell Meet in Vienna

LD1310212491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] A wide range of issues connected with the military-political situation in a changing world, and with ensuring security and stability in the light of the disarmament proposals of the presidents of the United States and the USSR, was discussed in the course of today's conversation in Vienna between chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, Army General Vladimir Lobov, and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, General Colin Powell. This was the commanders' first meeting.

According to the chief of general staff of the USSR Armed Forces, a common understanding was noted on a number of problems discussed. The two sides spoke in favor of continuing the dialogue.

Later today, Lobov arrived in Paris, where he will meet with the leadership of the French armed forces.

Meets Counterpart in Paris

LD1310072191 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 13 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris October 13 (TASS)—General of the Army Vladimir Lobov, chief of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, arrives in Paris today for an official visit at the invitation of Admiral Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces.

This visit is being made under a military cooperation agreement signed between the two countries in 1989. The validity of the document was reaffirmed during the meeting between the French and Soviet defence ministers, Pierre Joxe and Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, respectively, in Moscow in September 1991.

The programme for Lobov's visit envisages meetings with the leadership of the French Armed Forces and deputies of the National Assembly and a tour of military facilities and garrisons of French land troops, the Air Force and the Navy.

Armed Forces Chief of Staff Lobov Interviewed

PM1710095191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 91 p 5

["First interview abroad," with Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by correspondent I. Melnikov, in Vienna, on 13 October: "Is the 'Golden Age' of Disarmament Already Here?"]

[Text] The Austrians—I have encountered this repeatedly—have their own stereotyped perception of our Army, which they have carried with them through the postwar decades. For them it is the regiments which smashed Hitler's Wehrmacht on Austrian soil and paid in thousands of lives to take Vienna. In a word, victors.

General Lobov did not storm Vienna. He is a representative of a different generation: He put on shoulder boards only in 1954, when he began service as a private in a Third Army mountain rifle division. And yet, in the eyes of the Austrian capital Vladimir Lobov, chief of our General Staff, probably personified precisely that victorious Army.

Army General V. Lobov granted PRAVDA an interview two hours before his meeting with Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Right after the dialogue both military chiefs flew home, leaving their General Staff colleagues in Vienna to continue the seminar on military doctrines together with representatives of the other CSCE countries.

[Melnikov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, almost two years have elapsed since the first Vienna seminar. Maybe it is possible to speak of the importance of the changes which have occurred in the military sphere since then in the superlative degree. It would take a good half-page just to list the steps to reduce military potentials. Let us dwell on the last stage of this process—the reciprocal initiatives of the USSR and U.S. presidents.

[Lobov] I will begin with the fact that both initiatives reflect not only the two sides' readiness to deepen the disarmament process. They signify the relationship's qualitatively new nature. They confirm that the new thinking has received recognition in the international community. The initiatives are interesting in themselves, and they reveal a competitive element, let us say, with regard to strategic offensive arms.

[Melnikov] Undoubtedly. In respect of tactical nuclear weapons Gorbachev has not only accepted all Bush's

proposals but has also gone further, toward a full third "zero." And yet, let us take a more attentive look at what you called the "competitive aspect." Previously we competed in the arms race for decades, and now what—in disarmament? How is the military itself, ours and the U.S. military, reacting to this qualitative turn? Do they agree that it is necessary to hurry here?

[Lobov] The point is this. Look attentively at Bush's initiatives—they either stem from the Soviet-U.S. agreements on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, or they have points of contact with them. Obviously, after an in-depth "domestic" analysis the U.S. side concluded that the process must be accelerated. And, really, if the treaty is going to be ratified, why drag out its execution for seven years? Otherwise there will be a tremendous waste of effort and resources—material and moral.

Further, emotions were triggered by the proposals on tactical nuclear weapons, which have always been at the sharp end of the debate. Here, moreover, far from cosmetic measures have been outlined, and even the Navy and Air Force have been affected.

Earlier I used the expression "competitive element." As the saying goes, a word once spoken cannot be unsaid... Nevertheless I wish to make myself clear: Thoughtless competition is not apparent in disarmament today; reason and balance play first fiddle. As regards our president's reply, not only was it consonant with the U.S. initiative but it also contained "spice" of its own. In short, a process is taking place: A step on our part is accompanied by a step on their part, and vice versa. The perspective is not lost sight of here. This is the point.

[Melnikov] Now let us turn to a problem which recently came to the attention of the general public. It turns out that huge sums are being swallowed up not only by the arms race but also by... the destruction of means of destruction. What is your attitude to this question?

[Lobov] It is necessary to take a most attentive attitude to the material aspect. It is no coincidence that all disarmament actions have been marked with an execution deadline for both sides. The United States, for example, has declared that it will take three years to realize its recent initiative, and it named a seven-year term for the ground forces. It is naive to think that, once a treaty has been signed, weapons can at once go "under the knife" and that is the end of the matter. The material costs are huge, and so the elimination process drags on for months and even years.

It also makes sense to think hard so that some economic benefit can be derived by destroying weapons. Some things can be remodeled, some of the production capacities can be used for peaceful purposes—and then a kind of "ladder of compensation" is formed rung by rung.

[Melnikov] And yet it is no secret that leading military countries, in addition to reducing and eliminating arms, will continue developing new systems...

[Lobov] A reasonable point. For example, it is clear from the U.S. initiative that the United States, while reducing a number of programs, will nonetheless continue work on four which, in their view, are the most promising.

[Melnikov] Is there cooperation between Soviet and U.S. specialists, and is there an exchange of advanced technology in the destruction of weapons?

[Lobov] Alas, at present the matter has gotten no further than mutual appeals. It is time to put it on a practical footing.

[Melnikov] But what is preventing this?

[Lobov] Routine, deep-rooted habits, and a lack of interest are preventing it. However, the first steps are being taken. A U.S. deputy defense secretary is now expected to arrive in the Soviet Union precisely in connection with questions of conversion. There will be contacts—and there will be agreements on the exchange of technologies. This kind of selection process will bring to light the best option.

[Melnikov] Questions of conversion are tackled by very experienced international organizations—the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, for example. Do you welcome their "incursion" into the sphere of military-industrial complexes?

[Lobov] Do you want to know what I think? Conversion is necessary, but it must definitely lead to the development of new technologies. It is necessary to find efficient technologies right now, in the very process of eliminating weapons. And the more participants—states and international organizations—in this search, the better. All the same, the benefits will be in common.

[Melnikov] Let us return to the issues at the Vienna seminar on military doctrines. To resort to German vocabulary, is it a kind of "Paradestueck" (we would say "show"), or is the seminar really useful?

[Lobov] Useful is precisely what the seminar is. This is the second time that general staff officers from European countries, the United States, and Canada have debated national military doctrines. Looking one another in the eye, they openly share their thoughts. Confidence has appeared in their relations, and the more confidence there is, the higher is the degree of security. Colonel General Bronislav Omelichev spoke at the seminar about the main provisions of our country's future military doctrine and about the reform of the Armed Forces. The audience was very attentive—for our colleagues in the East and in the West are also on a quest. And, again, the benefits from contiguous quests are in common.

[Melnikov] We must agree that all military leaders conduct a quest. Only—let us be honest—in our country this quest is taking place in a tense situation and turbulent political processes are making their mark on it. In that connection I have the following question: Is our quest not being hampered by a number of sovereign

republics' efforts to set up their own armies? In the West the example of the Ukraine is cited particularly often here...

[Lobov] This problem does indeed give the West no peace. Any conversation that I have comes back to it in one way or another. I'm asked: Won't the Union disintegrate, how will the republics behave in respect of the Armed Forces?

I understand their concern. They have gotten accustomed to our military system which also affects them. One is conscious of concern in the West's reaction...

[Melnikov] Is it justified?

[Lobov] On their part, it is, of course, justified. It stems from their lack of information about the state of affairs in the republics. That is why we are showered with worried questions from them.

If we are talking about the republics and their armed forces, there is the resolution passed by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies that speaks of the sovereignty and independence of every republic. It also says that an agreement must be concluded on collective defense with unified armed forces and unified leadership of the strategic nuclear forces. Thus, a clear, well-organized formula has been determined.

[Melnikov] You're going to be meeting with your U.S. colleague, General Powell. What questions do you want to put to him?

[Lobov] Questions are all very well, there will of course be questions. But, as I see it, we primarily need communication and contact. In many respects the foundations of world military policy rest on both our countries' armed forces. The meeting will be of mutual benefit, it will deal with the two presidents' tactical and strategic arms reduction initiatives. I am interested as to how the U.S. side sees this process further developing. There will after all still be the triad—Air Force, Navy, and missile forces. So, will we carry on extracting some elements from each component of the triad piecemeal or will we consider the triad as a whole? I am sure that the quantitative aspect, this "piecemeal approach" will not provide a true solution to the problem in the future. We must work toward the goal announced by M.S. Gorbachev back in 1986—a nuclear-free world. I will therefore ask whether the United States intends taking that road.

The second question of importance for me is nuclear weapons tests. Unlike the Americans, we have not conducted tests for a long time now and have announced a moratorium on testing next year. Their side has not as yet taken similar or even intermediate steps. Take the problem of sea-launched tactical nuclear weapons. We suggested removing them, but the Americans are holding back. Why? What are they afraid of? The NATO bloc, whose sphere of action they are about to fundamentally expand, is still a subject for discussion.

[Melnikov] Nevertheless a process of rapprochement with the U.S. side can be discerned. How are our relations developing with our recent closest allies?

[Lobov] I would say that the attempts to develop new relations with one another are not thriving. In my view, the current stagnation is due to the fact that there have been no political decisions. Bilateral treaties should be concluded with all Eastern Europe somewhat more rapidly.

[Melnikov] Let me give a journalist's impression of the reception that the Austrians organized recently for the participants in the seminar. I noticed that the East European participants behaved in a quite friendly way toward their Soviet colleagues.

[Lobov] I too am not inclined to think that there has been any alienation. They still have too much in common with us—borders, long-standing close ties, and even Soviet weapons.

[Melnikov] One last question. How effective are our military leadership's efforts to preserve the combat capability of the Armed Forces now?

[Lobov] That's to the point! Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov and the General Staff consider reliably defending the Fatherland to be one of their most important tasks. We are doing everything we can to ensure that the Armed Forces are as ready as they need to be today.

The events of August have been a lesson for the Armed Forces in that they have grouped together more securely. Intensive troop combat training is under way and tasks arising in various spheres, including the economic sphere, are being tackled to a better standard. There is more discipline and one is conscious of enlisted men's and officers' mettle and sense of responsibility. There has been a growing endeavor to ensure that our Armed Forces are unified and represent the entire Soviet people [Lobov ends].

...Army Gen. Vladimir Lobov ended his interview for PRAVDA on what can be said to be that optimistic note. As he acknowledged, the interview was his first abroad.

Northeast Asia

Further on Japanese Foreign Minister Visit

Pankin on Results of Talks

LD1610152891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct. (TASS)—A conversation between Boris Pankin, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Taro Nakayama, the Japanese foreign minister, at the residence of the Japanese ambassador to the

Soviet Union marked the conclusion today of the Moscow part of the visit to the USSR by the head of the Japanese foreign policy department.

Assessing the results of the conversations and talks held during the course of the visit, Boris Pankin, in an interview with a TASS correspondent, stressed that "the visit may be seen as a very successful one." According to the minister, the USSR and Japan have progressed along the path mapped out in April 1991 in Tokyo, and "they have been able to take a number of specific steps on all issues."

Two documents in particular were signed concerning visa-free trips by the citizens of the USSR and Japan and an increase in the quota of journalists. An understanding was reached on setting up a consultative commission in which representatives of the USSR, RSFSR, and Japan would take part to determine ways for using the economic aid allocated by Japan to the sum of $2.5 billion.

The minister described as important the decisions to set up a discussion group on questions of security in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as to begin Soviet-Japanese consultations regarding an agreement on preventing incidents at sea.

"By drawing from the results that have been achieved," the USSR foreign minister stressed in conclusion, "we shall create an atmosphere that would enable us to meet each other half-way in concluding a peace treaty."

Nakayama on 'Highly Productive' Trip

LD1710002191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Oct 91

["Interview with Taro Nakayama, Japanese minister of foreign affairs," by correspondent Vladimir Tsvetov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tsvetov] Minister, you have just completed talks with the Russian and Union ministers of foreign affairs. You have met Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev. As far as the results of those talks are concerned, what, in your view, is the state of Russian-Japanese relations?

[Nakayama] I satisfactorily note the highly productive nature of all the meetings I have had with the Union and Russian Federation leadership and that includes my meetings with President Yeltsin and President Gorbachev.

[Tsvetov] Could you give us some more details, please?

[Nakayama] The Japanese Government approves of the efforts that your country has been undertaking since the August revolution in the sphere of democratization and the transition to a market economy. Taking this into account, I proposed in my speech at the recent UN General Assembly session five principles for a new policy toward the USSR. We intend to attach great importance to Japanese-Russian relations in the context of Japanese-Soviet relations as a whole.

[Tsvetov] Economic issues were discussed at the talks. Given that Russia has the majority of the national wealth of the former Soviet Union, I take it that considerable attention was devoted to Russian-Japanese economic relations. What could the minister say on this?

[Nakayama] During our talks, I informed the Soviet leadership about the Japanese Government's decision to render economic assistance to your country worth $2.5 billion. I believe that the greater part of this aid should be channelled into the Russian Federation. We propose that a trilateral commission be formed from representatives of the Union, the Russian Federation, and Japan to monitor the effective implementation of our economic cooperation.

[Tsvetov] I would like to continue this topic a bit. From Japan's point of view, is it not intended to propose to the Soviet Union the implementation of specific large-scale economic projects in the framework of this economic assistance?

[Nakayama] As far as our $2.5 billion economic assistance is concerned, $500 million of this is being channelled into humanitarian aid in connection with the fact that this winter, particularly in January and February, your country expects, as far as we know, a considerable shortage of food and medicines. Second, as you will know, the annual trade turnover between our countries amounts to $6 billion. Owing to the instability of the Soviet economy, the level of our trade is declining rapidly. In order to prevent a further reduction in turnover, we have earmarked $1.8 billion in the form of guarantees for Japanese-Soviet trade. We also intend to provide credits worth $200 million via the export-import bank to encourage foreign investments in your country, including the Russian Federation.

[Tsvetov] Minister, it is natural that in the course of the talks that have just ended, the territorial question was dealt with. Has there been any headway toward resolving this issue?

[Nakayama] Until recently, the Soviet Government's official position was nonrecognition of the existence of a territorial problem. But, during President Gorbachev's visit to Japan in April, the Soviet side officially recognized for the first time in a joint communique the existence of this issue, referring to all four islands by name.

As is known, in 1855 Russia and Japan peacefully defined the line of the border. The islands to the north of the island of Urup went to Russia. The islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan, and the Habomai islands were recognized as Japanese. Never in history have these four islands belonged to anyone other than Japan.

After World War II, the Soviet side occupied these islands. During my present visit, we reached agreement to speed up the resolution of the territorial question. I highly assess this accord.

[Tsvetov] The minister probably knows that a stubborn political struggle has broken out within the USSR around the problem of the Northern Territories. I understand that this is a strictly internal question. But, nonetheless, Mr. Minister, perhaps will express his opinion about this problem, too.

[Nakayama] I believe that the reason is that after World War II the Soviet Government, by constantly stressing that the islands belonged to the USSR, inculcated in the population an understandable certainty of the correctness of that position. The new perspective that has arisen in the present, absolutely new conditions probably was unexpected by the population of the islands. When the population of the islands learns their history, I am sure that this question, as Mr. Yeltsin quite rightly considers, can and should be resolved in a friendly manner, on the basis of legality and justice.

[Tsvetov] I have quite close relations with officials of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with officials of the Japanese Embassy in Moscow and, in their opinion—I hope that I am not giving away great secrets here—Mr. Nakayama is noted for his very great optimism. Therefore, I am not at all afraid to ask my last question: Does Mr. Nakayama feel optimistic about the development of Russian-Japanese relations in the future?

[Nakayama] The Russian Federation and Japan are close neighbors. Russia is rich in natural resources. Japan has become a major economic power rich in modern technology. If we arrange cooperation, we will be able to open up a new page in the history of our relations. I very much hope that it will be precisely on this basis that Russia and Japan will achieve general prosperity together.

[Tsvetov] It only remains for me to wish Mr. Nakayama success in his work and good luck. Many thanks for the interview.

Silayev, Nakayama on Economic Ties

LD1610152191 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondents Nikolay Geronin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Chairman of the Soviet Economic Management Committee Ivan Silayev met visiting Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama here today.

A spokesman for Silayev said the lively conversation centered around relations between the Soviet Union and Japan in a number of fields, above all in the economic sphere.

Ivan Silayev told the Japanese minister about the progress of economic reforms in the country on the basis of a new balance between the centre and republics and explained the Soviet approach to the development of a variety of relations with the world community, including Japan, to which great importance is attached in the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the Soviet side, Silayev expressed gratitude to the Japanese Government for extending express economic aid to the Soviet Union and technological and intellectual assistance in modernizing sectors of the Soviet national economy and support for the Soviet efforts to integrate in the world economic mechanism.

Taro Nakayama set out the principles Japan takes guidance from in different aspects of relations with the USSR.

The sides confirmed their commitment to expedite work to sign the Soviet-Japanese peace treaty, including the solution of the territorial problem, while developing and expanding constructive cooperation along all lines of relations between the Soviet Union, including the Russian Federation, and Japan.

Republics To Share Food Aid

OW1610151991 Tokyo KYODO in English 1502 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 16 KYODO—Caretaker Soviet Prime Minister Ivan Silayev told Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama on Wednesday [16 October] that Soviet republics will share the 500 million dollars provided by Japan for food assistance according to an inter-republic treaty to be concluded soon.

Silayev, who is the head of an interim commitee overseeing the national economy, thanked Nakayama for Japan's 2.5 billion dollars in emergency aid pledged last week, Japanese officials said.

The package of 2.5 billion dollars in aid consists of 500 million dollars for food and medical supplies, 200 million in export credits and 1.8 billion in trade insurance.

Touching on a proposed three-way committee to study Japanese assistance to the Soviet Union, Silayev said he will appoint one vice chairman as the Soviet representative. Japan, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation will establish the committee shortly, the officials said.

He told Nakayama the Soviet Union must overcome a food shortage from this winter to next spring and prevent industrial production from falling sharply.

After the meeting with Silayev, Nakayama headed for St. Petersburg, renamed from Leningrad, to wrap up his visit to the Soviet Union.

Only $700 Million of Aid Available

OW1710041491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From "Soviet Business Report" for "December 17, 1991"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For now, the Soviet Union can hope to get only $700 million of the $2.5 billion credit Japan has extended to the USSR.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry source told IF [INTERFAX] that of the $700 million, $500 million is a commercial credit for the USSR to buy food and medicine, and a $200 million loan is extended by Japan's Export-Import Bank for the financing of bilateral projects.

The bulk of the $2.5 billion credit—$1.8 billion—will be used to insure Japanese companies' trade and investments on the Soviet market.

The Soviet Union has not yet made use of the $100 million loan Japan extended to this country in late 1990 as "political stabilisation in the USSR" is one of the terms Japan laid down when extending the loan.

Japanese Official Notes 'Optimism'

OW1610200791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "We welcome the historical changes in the Soviet Union following the failed coup. The USSR is becoming a reliable partner for Western countries," a high-ranking officer of the Japanese Foreign Ministry told Soviet journalists on Wednesday [16 October]. He wished to remain anonymous, but said he expressed the position of his government.

The Japanese diplomat noted "the hospitable and open atmosphere" of the visit by Japan's Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama who met with the presidents of the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. He also expressed hope that "Russia's and the USSR leadership should take resolute steps towards solving the territorial dispute." Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, he said, are ready to speed up the peace treaty between the two countries. He admitted, though, that no concrete plan was made for handing over the disputed islands, that "neither leader promised to do it."

The Japanese diplomat said that the visit by T. Nakayama which is nearing its end now "has raised some optimism concerning the prospects of Japanese-Soviet relations."

"Early next month a new cabinet will be formed in Japan, and a different situation will emerge in the USSR, but there's every hope that our dialogue will continue," he stressed.

It has become known to INTERFAX that Nakayama has reached the following understandings with the Soviet leaders in the course of his talks:

—on setting up two working sub-groups to prepare a peace treaty: one on the territorial dispute, the other on the rest of the problems. The first meetings may be held by the end of the year;
—on forming an interstate committee for distributing Japanese aid in the USSR;
—on including the military in bilateral political consultations, particularly concerning prevention of marine incidents.

Japanese Diplomat on Negotiations

LD1610202291 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitry Bandura and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Japan, the Soviet Union and Russia are sincerely trying to solve complicated bilateral problems, but they still do not know how to do it, a high-ranking Japanese diplomat told Soviet and Japanese correspondents in a confidential conversation.

The diplomat commented on some results of the recent negotiations between Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and leaderships of the Soviet Union and Russia.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, the diplomat told correspondents that the sides had managed to come to a common stand as regards the need to accelerate the signing of a peace treaty.

The official said he grew slightly more optimistic about the development of this process after the recent visit.

The sides have outlined a number of measures to boost the negotiations on the peace treaty. In particularly, a sub-group on the territorial issue will be created within the framework of the standing working group on the Soviet-Japanese peace treaty.

As it is known, Japan conditions its signing of a peace treaty with the Soviet Union on the satisfactions of its claims on the islands of Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashir and Iturup.

Speaking of the territorial issue, the Japanese diplomat said that during the discussion of it at the Moscow negotiations, neither the Soviet nor the Russian leaderships made any promises to return the islands to Japan.

Kaifu Promises Economic Aid, Sets Conditions

LD1610171391 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Prokhorov]

[Text] Tokyo October 16 TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu on Wednesday [16 October] said Japan will provide the Soviet Union with economic aid after a thorough study of the situation in the country.

The statement was made during his meeting with Donald Mazankowski, Canadian finance minister.

Among the necessary prerequisites for receiving Japan's assistance, Kaifu named the signing of an economic agreement by Soviet republics and a clear-cut separation of powers between the center and the republics.

Kaifu said the G-7 finance ministers and bankers voted in Bangkok last week for economic assistance to the Soviet Union.

Mazankowski reiterated Canada's readiness to help the Soviet Union carry out economic reforms after a thorough study of the social and economic situation in the USSR.

Shifts in Japanese Policy Examined

PM1710100591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 91 p 4

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint" article: "Stumbling Block or Bridge of Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] Moscow and Tokyo have long had an agreement on regular exchanges of visits by their foreign ministers. Nakayama's current trip to the USSR, however, cannot be called a routine event, and not only because this is the first contact at government level since Gorbachev's April visit to Japan. There is probably something else more important. The six months that have elapsed since then have been a period of such rapid change for the USSR that Japanese official circles have been forced to feverishly review their tactics for relations with our country.

If we are talking about their abiding aim—regaining the Northern Territories (the islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan, and Habomai)—the USSR president's visit was for the Japanese somewhat encouraging and somewhat discouraging. The existence of the territorial issue was recognized for the first time and the area covered by it mapped out. Gorbachev, however, refused to confirm the pledge made under the 1956 joint declaration that Habomai and Shikotan Islands would be transferred to Japan following the signing of a peace treaty. The unfulfilled hope of Soviet concessions gave rise to debates about the fact that importunate demands for the immediate and unconditional transfer of all four islands are by themselves unlikely to have the necessary effect, and that, figuratively speaking, more reliance should be placed on the carrot than the stick.

The August putsch and its consequences have complicated still further Tokyo's review of its approaches to Moscow. On the one hand, the catastrophic deterioration in the economic situation in the USSR has seemingly strengthened the Japanese side's main trump card—the likelihood of an "aid for islands" deal. But, on the other hand, the exacerbation of political instability, the collapse of the USSR, and the transformation of its republics into independent partners in talks all introduce new elements and factors of uncertainty and unpredictability into the normalization process. The Japanese find it hard to judge whether the changes in the USSR bring the resolution of the territorial problem any closer or, conversely, make it less likely. Should they beef up their demands or show flexibility? It seems as though the second opinion has prevailed.

Speaking at the UN General Assembly before arriving in Moscow, Nakayama formulated the five principles on the basis of which Japan intends to develop relations with our side from now on. First, the expansion of support for reform in the USSR. Second, active cooperation with the republics, particularly Russia. Third, the involvement of the USSR in equal partnership in the Asia-Pacific region. Fourth, the promotion of its integration into the world economy. And fifth and finally, the signing of a peace treaty based on legality and justice, without dividing people into conquerors and conquered.

In my view, these formulas reflect a more realistic approach than before, when the Japanese side hewed to the line of "the islands first, everything else later." Increasing aid to the Soviet Union has now been brought to the fore, while the territorial question has moved into the background. Although the principle of the indivisibility of politics and the economy has not formally been abolished, it is not being interpreted so strictly any more. This is clear from the example of economic cooperation or, rather, in the level of Japanese assistance for Soviet reform.

Before sending the foreign minister to Moscow, the Japanese Government decided to allocate $2.5 billion for various forms of "economic aid" to the Soviet Union. I think that it is right to put this term in quotation marks. After all, the sum does not include any free allocations. It is essentially "loan aid," a package of loans covered by a number of conditions. Tokyo wants to have guarantees that the USSR will ultimately pay Japan the foreign-trade debt of $350 million owed to it and will pay off new loans in good time.

Thus, we are not being given $2.5 billion but lent it. And the loans for the purchase of food and medicine in the form of emergency humanitarian aid account for just one-fifth of the total sum: $500 million. Another $200 million is being allocated in the form of credits from the Export-Import Bank of Japan to stimulate bilateral trade. The bulk of the package, $1.8 billion, is being allocated to state insurance cover for deals with the Soviet Union. This money is probably earmarked for Japanese entrepreneurs as compensation for possible losses incurred from trade operations and investment in the USSR.

In my view, this major package of loans reflects constructive progress in Japanese policy, as does its readiness to

help the USSR become an equal partner in the Asia-Pacific region and get involved in the world economy. Hitherto we had been promised that all this would happen only once the territorial issue was settled. Moscow has taken steps to reach an accomodation with Tokyo. The Soviet foreign minister has informed his colleague of the decision to cut the Soviet military presence on the four islands by 30 percent. This step was highly assessed in the Japanese capital.

I believe that the prime aim of the Nakayama visit was to obtain firsthand information about the roles currently played and the positions currently taken by the Union and Russian leadership, because Japanese official circles have recently been confused by contradictory statements in this respect. While actively exploring the Russia avenue, a new channel of Tokyo policy is to influence Soviet public opinion and strive to persuade it of Japanese goodwill.

This approach can only be welcomed. After all, trust is founded on actions rather than words. The more productively we learn to cooperate and collaborate, the more specific and tangible the concept of good-neighborliness becomes, the easier it will be to conclude the postwar territorial division on a mutually acceptable basis. If the Soviet and Japanese peoples' joint efforts succeed in turning the South Kurils into a prosperous region, the question of their jurisdiction will lose its current painful acuteness. These islands could turn from a stumbling block for our bilateral ties into a bridge of good-neighborliness.

Commentary on Northern Islands Issue

PM1110115591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 91 Single Edition p 5

[Commentary by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov on letter to PRAVDA from Japanese Embassy: "Let Us Seek A Solution Together"]

[Text] The Japanese Embassy has addressed PRAVDA by letter shortly before the arrival in Moscow of Foreign Minister Nakayama. A new round of debates on a peace treaty is in prospect at both Union and Russian level, and the guest has meetings scheduled with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Territorial demarcation is a subtle business, painfully wounding to national vanity. It is far from simple to come to a common interpretation of even such a seemingly generally accepted concept as "justice."

Most of the arguments cited by the embassy are well known to everyone who studies Soviet-Japanese relations. Indeed, the arguments that I might cite in reply are also probably well known to my adversaries. For example, the dubiousness of the reference to the Shimoda Treaty of 1855. We believe that, by suddenly attacking Port Arthur in 1904, Japan cancelled its commitment to "permanent peace and sincere friendship" with Russia. According to the traditions of international law, a state that violates a treaty loses the grounds to refer to it. Similarly, by perpetrating the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Japan doomed itself to the lot of a state obliged to submit to the conditions of the postwar structure contained in the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Declaration and later enshrined in San Francisco by a peace treaty, by which Japan resigned "all rights, legal grounds [pravoosnovaniya], and claims" to the Kuril Islands.

I wish to dwell on the new lines of argument that have now emerged from Tokyo. If, they say, Moscow resigned itself to the reunification of Germany, if it recognized the independence of the Baltic republics, is there any sense in harping on the inviolability of the postwar borders? As far as Germany is concerned, it is apposite to mention the political farsightedness of Bonn, which in 1970 recognized postwar realities and signed the Moscow Treaty. This was not an easy step. But without it the favorable attitude of the Soviet people to the idea of German reunification would not have arisen.

The analogy with the Baltic States is even more illogical. Unlike the unambiguous expression of will of the Baltic peoples, any referendums about the fate of the Northern Territories, whether within the four islands, or in Sakhalin Oblast, or in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], would most likely not give Tokyo the desired results.

Life, however, has shown that we can exchange arguments and counterarguments ad infinitum. How can we break the deadlock? It seems to me that both sides should reject extreme positions and solve the problem on the basis of a mutually acceptable compromise. Until recently Moscow claimed that there was no territorial question at all, that in the circumstances of the Japanese-U.S. alliance, the joint declaration of 1956 had no force. Japan, however, advocated, and still does, the unconditional and simultaneous return of all four islands.

I agree that this knot can only be untangled on the basis of legality and justice. First of all, it should be recognized that the problem of postwar territorial demarcation exists, for a state border must be enshrined in a document of international law. Second, in my opinion, the Soviet side should recognize its obligations according to the Joint Declaration of 1956. This document has been ratified by both parliaments and, if we wish to be a rule-of-law state, we must take account of this. Third and finally, it is necessary to continue talks on the remaining problems, including Japanese claims to Kunashir and Iturup (although it still remains for Japan to prove why its renunciation of rights to the Kuril Islands should not, as they claim, apply to these islands).

Incidentally, all the signs are that matters will not end with the debates over the Northern Territories. There has been talk in Finland recently of the "eastern territories," that is to say, Karelia. It has been decided to review the underlying document of the postwar settlement between the two states: the 1948 treaty. True, the prominent Finnish political scientist Jakobson calls on his fellow countrymen not to seek border changes but to

participate in the joint reclamation of Karelia. As a free economic zone, it would become a bridge for good-neighborliness between Finland and the USSR.

Perhaps some modification of this idea would help overcome the obstacles on the road to a peace treaty with Japan?

I would like to voice some personal ideas on this subject. In defending their positions, Moscow and Tokyo usually turn for arguments to the past. But perhaps they should look at the question from the point of view of the future? How about turning the subject of bilateral dispute into an instrument for settling global problems? What about putting aside the question of whom the Northern Territories belong to and instead create in them a free economic zone, a sort of Soviet-Japanese joint enterprise that would function in the interests of all mankind?

Obtaining the consent of the local inhabitants, it might be possible to concentrate on the four southern islands of the Kuril chain various UN institutions involved in nature conservation, the reclamation of the Pacific Ocean, the study of volcanoes and earthquakes, the preparation of meteorological forecasts, and so forth. International forces for supplying immediate aid in the event of major natural disasters could also be stationed there.

In order to create all this, the Soviet Union would for a period provide the territory, and Japan would invest capital. In order to strengthen mutual trust, both states would agree to demilitarize the adjacent regions. The free economic zone regime would provide preferential conditions for investment. The Japanese would receive access to the four islands and the Soviet citizens living there would receive access to neighboring Hokkaido. Some of the revenue from tourism, which would be expanded in the free economic zone, would go to the United Nations for the special purpose of solving pan-human problems.

The question of sovereignty over the Northern Territories would in this way be left to the discretion of future generations. Let us say, until the middle of the 21st century, when the very idea of national borders will, perhaps, have acquired a different character to now. And the use of the four islands for the common good of mankind would undoubtedly increase the international prestige of our states.

Soviet-DPRK Enterprise Staff Begin Strike

LD1210182891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] This is the news service; Sergey Pustovoyt at the microphone. I will start this news bulletin with a sensational report. At 1200 today, Soviet staff members at the joint Soviet-North Korean enterprise Rozek went on strike. Here with me in the studio is Yuriy Gutin, first deputy general director of the joint enterprise. So, Yuriy, what is the reason for such an unprecedented step?

[Gutin] As you can understand, a strike is an extreme step, only agreed to when all parliamentary methods of struggle are exhausted. A session of the board could not resolve the issue. Talks with our North Korean partners could not resolve it. Our North Korean partners are the Nomsan firm, in the person of the enterprise's general director. It only wants unilateral gains for North Korea. As a result, with each passing day, our enterprise is increasingly becoming a buffer enterprise for sending machine tools and equipment and all that they can buy to North Korea for freely convertible currency, as is laid down under the relevant bilateral agreements.

[Pustovoyt] How long has the enterprise existed?

[Gutin] Our enterprise is now in its third year. During these years we have been waging a struggle to stop these dispatches by us, because, as you know, after they have invested Soviet money in the regulation fund and have sent us kits, that is, sets of items and parts for televisions, tape recorders, computers, of out of date models, from as early as 1979, which cost next to nothing, from the scrapheaps of Southeast Asia, we are forced to pay double or three times the price for them, much more than we pay in the Berezka shops and others. The prices are very high.

[Pustovoyt] That's clear. What are the strikers' main demands? As I understand it, you are joining them.

[Gutin] Yes, naturally. The strikers' demands consist of two points. First, the alienation of property belonging to the joint enterprise Rozek, started by the general director, must end. This has nothing to do with the North Korean side—the machines, the equipment from the servicing station, spare parts. Our second demand is the immediate replacement of the general director, who is incompetent, who does not know the language and Soviet laws, a person who only knows how to say: I'll fire you, who issues threats to the Soviet staff of the joint enterprise, and who does not know other measures.

[Pustovoyt] What is the attitude of the Korean cofounder of the enterprise to your demands?

[Gutin] The Korean cofounder and the general director are one and the same person.

[Pustovoyt] In other words, you have no way out except to go into liquidation?

[Gutin] If some kind of consensus is not found, and today I am increasingly doubtful that it will be found, we will undoubtedly have to agree to close down, although our enterprise is potentially an extremely strong one and is capable of operating with new founders.

[Pustovoyt] Well, Yuriy, thank you. I hope that the collapse of our economic and juridical system has not gone right down to zero and, if some one is listening to us from the bodies that are called upon to defend the economic security of our motherland, I hope that they will respond.

Enterprise Raided; Workers Threatened

LD1610082591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0630 GMT 16 Oct 91

["News Service" program presented by Sergey Pustovoyt]

[Text] The News Service is again on the air. Sergey Pustovoyt at the microphone. This brief bulletin is devoted to an event that the journalists of our service have been following closely for several days now. We have already reported on the conflict that has occurred in the joint Soviet-North Korean enterprise Rozek. If you recall, Soviet staff members of the joint enterprise came out on strike there, protesting against the action by their North Korean partners that has been harming and is continuing to harm our country's economic sovereignty.

After the first live appearance on our radio by Yuriy Gutin, first deputy general director of the Rozek joint enterprise on this topic, persons of Korean nationality carried out a raid on the joint enterprise, as a result of which all the enterprise's documents and equipment were taken. Yesterday Soviet staff members of the joint enterprise staged a demonstration in front of the DPRK Embassy in Moscow and handed over a protest note demanding that the North Korean side observe Russia's economic sovereignty.

Yuriy Gutin has just rung me and told me that to date the striking staff members of the Rozek joint enterprise are unable to get to their places of work as the office of the enterprise has been blocked by a hired guard. Many of them are receiving threats of physical reprisals over the telephone. Despite the fact that all documents concerning this case were handed over to the procuracy of Moscow Khoroshevskiy rayon by Yuriy Gutin, so far there has not been any response.

Honestly speaking, I cannot imagine that any other country, except ours, would allow foreigners to treat the sovereignty of their host country and the rights of its citizens so unceremoniously. Together with the staff members of the joint enterprise Rozek, we are all the same awaiting specific measures from the relevant bodies.

Vice Foreign Minister To Visit DPRK in Nov

SK1210144791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 10 Oct 91

[News from "Various Aspect of Cooperation]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Pankin finished a series of meeting with heads of governments and foreign ministers of the states that had participated in the 46th UN General Assembly sessions.

Soviet Foreign Minister Pankin met DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam on 2 October. In their meeting, they emphasized the friendly character [chinsonjok songgyok] of mutual USSR-DPRK relations. In addition, they expressed the hope that the relations will develop in the future, too.

It was confirmed that the Soviet vice foreign minister will visit Pyongyang in November. He plans to analyze in detail the issues in the overall relations between the Soviet Union and Korea during his visit to Pyongyang.

South Korean Foreign Minister To Visit

SK1710073391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Yi Sang-ok, ROK foreign minister, is expected to come to the USSR for an official visit either at the end of this year or early next year.

Soviet Ambassador to the ROK Sokilov said this in Seoul.

Foreign Minister Yi Sang-ok and his Soviet counterpart Pankin reached an agreement on this visit during their meeting in New York.

The Soviet foreign minister said that the normalization of relations between Seoul and Moscow in 1990 has played an enormous role in South and North's admission into the United Nations.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev, Others Meet With Israel's Peres

LD1710105191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 17 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has received Shim'on Peres, the prominent Israeli public and political figure, in the Kremlin this morning. Also participating in the discussion on the Soviet side are USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov; Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions; and Yevgeniy Velikhov, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president. As your TASS correspondent has learned from well-informed sources, the initiative to invite the Israeli guest to Moscow to examine a number of major joint scientific-technical and economic projects came from Yevgeniy Velikhov.

According to observers' assessments, the prospects for Soviet- Israeli contacts, principally in the economic field, could be the main subject of today's conversation in the Kremlin.

Shim'on Peres is chairman of the Labor Party, which is currently in opposition, and leader of the Alignment Workers Coalition bloc. He also plays a significant role

in the international Social Democratic Movement and holds the post of vice president of the Socialist International.

The former Israeli prime minister has close links with business circles in his country that are interested in expanding cooperation wiht the Soviet Union. He has his own ideas for Israel's future and for the development of relations with the USSR in various spheres of life.

Foreign Minister Leaves for Middle East Tour

LD1710081291 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 17 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS— Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin today left for a six-day tour of the Middle East.

Pankin is expected to visit Israel, Syria, Jordan and Egypt. In Jerusalem, he is due to meet U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Pankin aims to complete preparations for a Middle East peace conference, scheduled for the end of October.

Pankin told reporters before his departure that during his visit to Israel and his meeting with Baker, they will discuss establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and israel.

This step is in the interest of all countries in the region and will strengthen stability in the Middle East, Pankin said.

To Focus on Peace, Diplomatic Ties

LD1610155891 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—The main goal of the Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin's Middle East visit is to finish preparations for the Middle East peace conference scheduled for late October, according to a high-ranking Soviet Foreign Ministry official interviewed by TASS correspondent today.

The source said the Soviet side regards restoring diplomatic relations with Israel as a step towards improving the situation in the Middle East and towards peace between the Arab states and Israel.

The diplomatic relations, once they are restored, will not mean the unity of views between the Soviet Union and Israel on the Middle East and on other issues, said the official.

Restoring the diplomatic relations with Israel must not hinder third states, with which the Soviet Union traditionally maintains friendly relations, he said.

Israeli Diplomat on Renewing Relations

LD1610185891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] (Yousef Ben Dor), deputy consul general of the State of Israel to the Soviet Union, today held a news conference at the Consulate General building in Moscow. The news conference was timed for Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin's tour of a number of Middle East countries starting tomorrow.

Here is a report from our correspondent, Oleg Nikolayev, who attended the news conference:

[Nikolayev] The Israeli diplomat commenced his address by referring to the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel as an issue that attracts the highest degree of attention among the Israeli public.

(Yousef Ben Dor) said that the diplomatic relations are considered as a natural channel linking the two countries, which are brought together by mutual interests. They are not a prize or a reward. They are a means to establish normal links, either in politics or in social life. Disagreeing with the political course adopted by a certain country should not be a basis for severing the channels of contacts with that country.

Before 1967 the Soviet Union preserved, at least officially, diplomatic relations with Israel, and hence enjoyed the possibility of obtaining information and replying via official channels. The Soviet Union deprived itself of that possibility in that same year.

If there is a conflict and someone wants to influence the sides, he should establish contacts with each of them.

(Yousef Ben Dor) pointed out that the country that would like to be the alternate chairman of the peace conference, whether in the Middle East or anywhere else, is obliged to have normal relations with both sides of the conflict. This could be understood as meaning that Israel does not intend to participate in the conference without establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

[Begin Yousef Ben Dor recording] I would like to emphasize one thing: We cannot at all allow a country, with whom we do not have full normal relations according to the standards of the civilized international community, the opportunity to participate in a process that would determine our fate. [end recording]

In his address the Israeli diplomat also described the political situation that has been formed in the region on the eve of the convening of the peace conference. He also drafted his country's position in the settlement process in the Middle East.

In reply to a question by our correspondent: How does Israel see the final fate of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, (Yousef Ben Dor) said:

[Begin Yousef Ben Dor recording] We are commencing a long-term process and we know what we want. We know that the problem will not be solved immediately. Therefore an interim period is necessary for giving the peaceful coexistence experience and confidence and for improving the atmosphere that has been poisoned by conflict. In this atmosphere of improvement we would sit again with the Palestinians around the negotiating table, and we will commence discussions on the final state of the territories. Who knows, perhaps then, under different circumstances, solutions that we cannot now imagine could be found? We have our stance, but I do not advise anyone to try now to predict the results of the final negotiations, which should commence three years after the interim resolutions. [end recording]

Silayev on Possible Cooperation With Israel

OW1110132191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, Ivan Silayev, met with a delegation of Israeli industrialists led by D. Lautman. The guests expressed readiness to help the Soviet Union develop its market infrastructure, and discuss the prospects of getting Israeli entrepreneurs to invest in the Soviet economy and draft an agreement for free trade between Israel and the USSR.

Mr. Silayev attached considerable significance to the "human factor" in business relations between the two countries. He said that more than 300,000 ex-Soviet people lived in Israel today, which promised that budding Soviet entrepreneurs could find it easier to reach agreement with their Israeli-based colleagues than with entrepreneurs elsewhere.

On Friday [11 October], the head of the State Military-Industrial Commission Vladimir Koblov is expected to advance a number of specific proposals on cooperation between Soviet and Israeli plants, primarily those in the defense sector.

East Europe

Further on Croatian, Serbian Leaders Talks

Serbian Leader, Gorbachev, Yeltsin Meet

LD1610141191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1318 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By correspondents Viktor Runov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—The main point contained in the communique signed in Moscow is the expression of the sides' desire to find a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav conflict. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic made this statement at a news conference here today.

Replying to a TASS correspondent's question, the Serbian leader emphasized that there is no alternative to a peaceful solution to the conflict. He went on: A just settlement assumes compliance with the laws and respect for the interests of all peoples.

Speaking about the role of the Soviet president in settling the Yugoslav crisis, the Serbian leader said: "Compared to other European leaders, and taking into account the experience accumulated in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev has a clearer picture of the situation. He has very reliable information concerning the overall development of the state of affairs in Yugoslavia." Describing the atmosphere of the meeting with the USSR president, the Serbian leader observed that all the talks took place in an atmosphere of total frankness. Mikhail Gorbachev displayed the utmost goodwill in his efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis by peaceful means.

Commenting on his position regarding the future structure of the SFRY, Slobodan Milosevic observed that Serbia views Yugoslavia as "a joint state of equal peoples and republics, based on a market economy and a multiparty parliamentary democracy."

The Serbian leader briefed journalists on his meeting today with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. During their talk, he said, the head of the Russian Federation was given an invitation to visit Serbia; this was accepted with gratitude by Boris Yeltsin. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president proposed signing a long-term agreement on economic ties and cooperation between Russia and Serbia, Milosevic reported.

Croatia's Tudjman, Yeltsin Talk

LD1610144791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—I am fully satisfied with the results of my meeting with Boris Yeltsin. Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman made this statement today in an interview with Soviet journalists after his conversation at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president's residence in the Kremlin. Tudjman is in our country at the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev, who is trying to mediate an end to the bloody conflict in Yugoslavia.

Mr. Yeltsin, Tudjman continued, advocated "an end to the war in Croatia and a search for a peaceful way out of the crisis at the negotiating table." The RSFSR president expressed his readiness to contribute to settling the crisis in Yugoslavia together with Mikhail Gorbachev. We

think Boris Yeltsin "can make a substantial contribution to solving the conflict and ending the war in Croatia," Tudjman noted.

Concerning other topics touched on during the conversation, he reported that Boris Yeltsin supported Zagreb's initiative to create a Russo-Croatian commission to discuss issues of economic cooperation. The RSFSR president also accepted an invitation to visit Croatia.

Franjo Tudjman gave a skeptical assessment of the possibility of direct talks between Serbia and Croatia in the near future. "If this were possible, then Europe would not be occupied with the problem," he said. According to Tudjman, Croatia is "fighting against the restoration of communism." Commenting further, he said: "The Yugoslav Army, which is headed by communist generals and is fighting against democracy in Croatia, was directly linked with the putschists in the USSR." The president of Croatia added that these "communist generals" had earlier this year "received written instructions from the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army."

Franjo Tudjman was asked whether he saw any difference in how the presidents of the USSR and the RSFSR approached the problems of Yugoslavia. "I didn't notice any substantial difference," Tudjman replied.

Milosevic, Tudjman Agree To Meet

LD1610143791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1334 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 16 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said on Wednesday [16 September] he had agreed with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to meet "very soon to discuss political, economic and all other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis."

Milosevic spoke to newsmen at the international press centre in Moscow before leaving the Soviet capital for Belgrade.

The Serbian president yesterday had two meetings with President Mikhail Gorbachev—one separate, and the other together with Tudjman.

Today, Milosevic met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who "accepted with pleasure an invitation to visit Serbia" and suggested that the two republics should sign a longterm agreement on economic and other forms of cooperation.

Milosevic Gives News Conference

LD1610163791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said today that he had reached an agreement with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to meet "as soon as possible to discuss the political, economic, and all other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis."

Milosevic made this statement to journalists at a news conference he held at noon today at the international press center in Moscow, immediately before leaving the Soviet capital for Belgrade.

The Serbian president had two meetings with President Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday—one was just between the two of them, the other was attended by Tudjman as well. Today Milosevic had talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who "accepted with pleasure an invitation to visit Serbia." Yeltsin also proposed that the two republics conclude a long-term agreement on economic and other forms of cooperation.

In response to a question, Milosevic said that there had been "a positive evolution in the orientation toward a peaceful solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia." He went on to say: "The problem was that the Croatian authorities had not complied with any agreement, including the accords arrived at by six republican presidents."

After this news conference Franjo Tudjman was also scheduled to talk to the journalists, as everyone had been informed, but he did not appear. No explanation was given as to whether it was a misunderstanding or something else.

The Serbian president's statements were given great attention by Soviet and foreign correspondents, and the news conference was filmed by about 15 television companies. Milosevic simply replied to the many questions asked him, without any introductory statement, giving a positive assessment of the substance of the communique issued last night following the tripartite meeting of the two Yugoslav republican presidents with Mikhail Gorbachev.

He said the main commitment in that communique is the quest for a peaceful solution, because "there is no alternative." "Peaceful," said Milosevic, means a "legal" solution, and this, he said, "means that the interests of every nation must be taken into account." If all the parties exhibit goodwill in this, then a solution will be found, stressed the Serbian president.

In response to a question on why the Soviet experience in granting independence to the Baltic republics was not being used in Yugoslavia, Milosevic pointed out that the experience was different. Serbia, however, does not deny any nation in Yugoslavia its right to self-determination, he said. "The Serbian people, however, have the same right—no more and no less," he stated, and as for those who want to leave Yugoslavia, we are not making it impossible for them nor do we challenge their right to do so, but their rights cannot be greater than the rights of others.

Having stressed that Serbia had always been in favor of a peaceful solution to the crisis, Milosevic said: "A solution cannot possibly be found through bloodshed." The peaceful solution must be equitable, he noted.

There is no war between Serbia and Croatia, Milosevic went on to say, but there is a conflict between the Croatian authorities and the Serbian people in Croatia. He stressed that Croatia proclaimed its independence and promptly manifested the act by attacking the Serbs who had been living in Croatia for centuries. The role of the Yugoslav People's Army was merely to separate the parties in the conflict in order to avoid even greater bloodshed.

Replying to a question on the role of individual EC member countries, Milosevic's assessment was that the Community is officially operating with a single voice, but that, unofficially, the positions of individual countries differ. We believe, he said, that the EC has good intentions to help and not to impose a solution. Milosevic stressed his opinion that the Community's approach—through which the peoples of Yugoslavia alone can decide on their future—is a constructive one.

Asked whether the difference between the Serbian and the Croatian positions is that Serbia wants a federation and Croatia a confederation, Milosevic noted that the view on the future of Yugoslavia is set out in the "Belgrade initiative" put forward by the top representatives of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. The formula is as follows: Yugoslavia should be a joint state of equal nations and republics in which development will be based on market relations in the economy and a multiparty parliamentary democracy. "This is one option, our option, but we do not believe we have the right to impose it on anyone."

Was Gorbachev's mediation more efficient than that of the others? This was one of the 17 questions asked by journalists during the 30 minutes Milosevic was able to give them before his flight for Belgrade. "Gorbachev understands the situation better than others because he is facing the Soviet experience. In addition, he is very well informed about the general situation in Yugoslavia," said Milosevic.

Moreover, in Milosevic's assessment, the atmosphere during the talks with Gorbachev was good and very open. Mikhail Gorbachev displayed "the utmost goodwill in the effort to have the Yugoslav crisis resolved peacefully."

Asked about Russia possibly playing the role of mediator, Milosevic said: "Without a doubt, Russia and Boris Yeltsin can make a great contribution." The Russian president, he said, fully understands our situation, so much so that there are no reservations regarding his good intentions and Russia possible playing the role of mediator.

One question had to do with the August coup in the Soviet Union and speculation that the Serbian Government had allegedly supported the putschists. Milosevic thanked the journalist who had asked this particular question, saying that he will not "make value judgments" but only state the facts. While the coup was still under way, said Milosevic, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic publicly stated, on behalf of the Serbian Government and in front of the television cameras, that Serbia was against violence. Serbia was "the only republic in Yugoslavia that denounced the coup before it collapsed," he said. When the putschists suffered a setback, everyone made statements against them. This is not difficult to prove, said Milosevic.

Speaking about the cease-fire violations, Milosevic said that a distinction must be made between the aggressors and the victims. The Serbs in Croatia are the victims and not the aggressors; they are in their villages and that is where they are defending themselves, he pointed out. Who can be an occupier of his own home and the land on which his predecessors had lived for centuries? asked Milosevic.

When the time for the conference was up, scores of Western journalists ran after him to ask him a few more questions. As he had done earlier, Milosevic replied in English to reporters who asked questions in that language.

Croatian Leader, Shevardnadze Meet

LD1610182691 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Nikolay Veretin]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today met President of the Foreign Political Association Eduard Shevardnadze, and invited him to visit Croatia and acquaint himself with the situation on the Balkans right on the spot.

Tudjman stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Shevardnadze and Tudjman exchanged opinions on topical aspects of internal politics of the two states. The Croatian president called on Eduard Shevardnadze to contribute to the search for a way out of the bloody crisis in Yugoslavia.

In the opinion of Tudjman, the high international authority of Shevardnadze may help stop the war in the centre of Europe.

During the meeting, the Croatian leader positively assessed the mediating efforts by Mikhail Gorbachev in solving the Yugoslavian problems, and expressed the hope that a certain "pressure" will be brought on Serbia in order to stop the war against the Croatian people.

West Europe

Italian President on Covert CPSU Funding

LD1510204391 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 15 Oct 91

[By correspondent Alexey Golyaev]

[Text] Rome October 15 TASS—Polemics around the Soviet Communist Party's covert funds for fraternal communist parties was described as a storm in a teacup by Italian President Francesco Cossiga.

He said in an interview with Swiss journalists "great ballyhoo has been raised around the Soviet Communist Party funding the Italian communist organisation. But I think it would have been strange for the CPSU not to finance the Italian Communist Party. Equally, some Western parties were financed by other Western parties, especially from the United States".

The president stressed that in those times "we were in a state of ideological warfare". He said it was now necessary to turn the page and exorcise the ghosts of the past". However, he said, the impact of that war was still being felt.

Gorbachev's advisor Vadim Zagladin, who is now attending an international seminar in the Italian city of Rimini, confirmed in an interview with the newspaper LA STAMPA reports from Moscow. The CPSU financed the Italian Communist Party for a number of years, and I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the secret documents referred to," he said.

The newspaper stresses that Zagladin filled a number of responsible posts in the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee for a number of years.

LA STAMPA reports that Rome's prosecutor has begun an investigation into the covert funds of the KGB and the CPSU for the Italian Communist Party.

CPSU Funds 'Reached' French Communists

LD1410183291 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 14 Oct 91

[By correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris October 14 TASS—Archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union contain documents showing how secret funds for foreign communist parties reached the French Communist Party through member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party Gaston Plissonnier, the newspaper LE FIGARO reports today.

Referring to Soviet sources the newspaper writes that the general department of the CPSU contained top secret files with receipts and other documents confirming annual "financial injections" to foreign "fraternal parties".

The files contain a mention of a receipt signed by Plissonnier to confirm the reception of one million dollars for the French communists and of smaller sums—from 20 to 50 thousand dollars—for the Communist Parties of the Dominican Republic, Reunion, Guadelupe, Martinique and Haiti.

From a certain period of time, the French Communist Party was one of the few communist parties of which receipts were no longer required. One can surmise that by 1986 leaders of the CPSU and the French Communist Party formed special arrangements which attested to special trust.

French Communists Deny Funding

PM1310143191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 91 p 4

["They Caused...a Scandal"]

[Text] Paris, 10 Oct—Yesterday Paris TF-1 television showed an interview by its Moscow correspondent Ulysse Gosset with journalist Aleksandr Yevlakhov of the ROSSIYA newspaper, who several days ago published an article about the fact that the French Communist Party [PCF] was allegedly financed from the CPSU's coffers. Since then this article has been the subject of an argument. The PCF claims that it has not received any money from the CPSU. The press does not believe it.

On this occasion Yevlakhov showed on television a kind of tabulation in which the sum of $20 million had been inserted by hand as though allocated for financing foreign communist parties, and "PCF" was entered in one of the columns.

Yevlakhov apparently found this piece of paper on the premises of the former CPSU Central Committee International Department. In his interview he went as far as to accuse the PCF of supporting the Yanayev putsch, although it is known that the PCF came out with a decisive condemnation of it right from the start.

After the reportage from Moscow, TF-1 gave the right of reply to P. Soture [name as transliterated], chief of the PCF Central Committee Financial Department, who reiterated that he categorically rejects the claims by the ROSSIYA newspaper and the Mr. Yevlakhov who had just appeared on television. Soture stated that he has been in his post since 1982 and not once has he recorded any "transfers" from the CPSU. He also referred to the recent statement by A. Grachev, former deputy of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, who also rejected the ROSSIYA claims.

The TF-1 broadcast caused a real scandal in France for the additional reason that Yevlakhov "surmised" that CPSU money was handed over to PCF Secretary M. Gremetz via former International Department Chief Falin. The PCF categorically refutes this.

UK Chief of Staff News Conference Reported

PM1110153191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Oct 91 First Edition p 3

[By Major M. Pogorelyy: "British Experience for Soviet Army?"]

[Text] In the context of the Soviet-British dialogue on defense, events such as this are no longer regarded as an exception and have acquired a normal, working character. The event this time was the 30 September-5 October visit to the Soviet Union by General Sir John Chapple, chief of the British Army General Staff.

First Impressions

At a short news conference on the results of the Moscow leg of the visit, the general clearly decided to take advantage of the fact that various stereotypes (the "enemy image," "atmosphere of confrontation," "unfriendly attacks," "primitive anticommunism," and so forth) are being destroyed everywhere to topple the image firmly entrenched in public opinion of the British as cold, reserved, and very starchy gentlemen.

In any event, asked about his first impressions of his visit to Moscow, Sir John replied: "Look out of the window and you get the same impressions as I—it is very sunny and warm!" The general had not managed to see the other sights of Moscow in October by the time of our meeting. He has had some very important meetings at the USSR Defense Ministry.

Meeting With Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov

Asked to describe the problems discussed in the conversation with the USSR defense minister, Gen. Chapple noted that there was a mutually beneficial exchange of opinions between them on the development of the situation in the world and in the USSR. The British guest, like most foreign political and especially military leaders, of course, was interested in the processes of the reorganization of the Union and our country's Armed Forces, present and future relations between the center and the republics, and the framework of their commitments and powers in the defense sphere.

"I would like this dialogue to continue," Gen. Sir John Chapple stressed.

British Experience

As the chief of the British Army General Staff announced, he understands very well the many concerns of his Soviet colleagues.

"The fact is that the British Army is also undergoing the most major processes of restructuring and reorganization right now. As you will understand, I am not aloof from all that either," the general said.

In the general's words, during meetings with Soviet military chiefs (and apart from the USSR Defense Minister he met with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and Colonel General V.M. Semenov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces), the sides discussed with great interest the experience of the British Armed Forces in the transition to a contractual principle of recruitment. This happened in the sixties, decades before the United States. Experts could find much of use in our experience Gen. Chapple said, summing up.

One Division a Year

But in that sphere it is unfortunately too late to study Britain's experience. Furthermore, agreements on the redeployment of Baltic Military District formations and units also lie ahead. Asked how long it will take Britain to withdraw its troops from Germany territory, which begins in April 1992, the British chief of General Staff replied: "One year for each division."

The schedule, in his words, is determined by the potential of the Armed Forces and government to station the troops returning home.

In addition, some units will be disbanded. Consequently, many servicemen will be transferred to the reserve. But unlike our servicemen, today not every British soldier is looking forward to that day with impatience, having signed a service contract (like a contract for work) for a specified period. When the Army tears up a contract soldiers should be paid appropriate compensation.

"That is why the Treasury has an interest in slowing down the reductions in the Armed Forces," the general smiled.

"A Trap for Gorbachev"?

Agreeing that disarmament also costs money, and quite a lot of it, Gen. Chapple was highly skeptical of the claims in the Soviet press that [U.S. President] G. Bush's proposals on destroying a considerable proportion of tactical nuclear weapons is a "trap for Gorbachev" on the grounds that spending on that process will make it impossible to meet the "cold and hungry winter" properly.

"We have formulated similar plans of our own regarding tactical nuclear missiles and artillery shells," the general stressed. "As for our strategic nuclear arsenal, we will be ready to discuss its future when it becomes a stumbling block in the nuclear superpowers' disarmament process—that is, when it is comparable with the Soviet and U.S. counterparts in quantitative terms."

On the "Ukrainian Army"

When my foreign colleagues asked the general whether he plans to meet with representatives of the Ukrainian Army (and the itinerary of his visit includes the Kiev and Odessa Military Districts), the British guest replied with military conciseness: "I have been invited to acquaint myself with the Soviet Armed Forces."

Turkish Army General Meets Military Leaders

LD1010212691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 8 Oct 91

[By correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct (TASS)—Army General Dogan Gures, head of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Turkey, arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit today. At the airport he was met by Army General Lobov, head of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and other officials.

A meeting between General Dogan Gures and Aviation Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, took place, during the course of which questions of further strengthening military cooperation between the USSR and Turkey were discussed.

On the same day Army General Vladimir Lobov met with the head of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces.

"We have had useful conversations with the Soviet military leadership," Dogan Gures told a TASS correspondent. According to him, the Turkish and the Soviet sides have quite a few points of contact with regard to issues of military cooperation as well as disarmament problems.

The guest from Turkey laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

A visit to a number of military installations, Star City, and acquiantance with cultural and historical places in the capital are in the program of the Turkish military chief's visit to the Soviet Union. Before he leaves for home, he will also visit St. Petersburg and Baku.

Leaves Moscow To Tour Country

PM1510114391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[From roundup of TASS, RIA, and own correspondent reports: "Trip Around Soviet Union"]

[Text] Army General Dogan Gures, chief of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, has set off on a trip around the country. He was seen off at the airport by Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and other officials. The Turkish guest's itinerary includes St. Petersburg and Baku.

Germany Denies Plans To Buy MiGs

PM1510103591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 91 Union Edition p 6

[By correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "MiGs for the Bundeswehr"]

[Text] Bonn—The German press has featured a report that a Bundeswehr purchase of Soviet MiG-29 fighters is in the offing. This could allow Germany to "abandon the costly 'Fighter '90' program."

I asked the Defense Ministry how true this claim is, and I got the following military-style clear-cut answer: The rumors are simply false. The FRG Defense Ministry does not plan to buy MiGs from the Soviet Union and has not entered into any talks with producers to that end.

It would be strange, the ministry spokesman added, if interest were shown here in military equipment produced using obsolete technology.

The newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG, which was the first to propose this unusual deal, is sure that no account should be taken of the Bonn military department's denial and that talks will go ahead but in secret.

Let us try to tease out the truth. It is well known that the 24 MiG-29's in service with the GDR National People's Army have not only been transferred to the German Luftwaffe but also are in service with it. Experienced experts have painstakingly checked them out and given them the highest rating. A corresponding secret report disappeared into the defense minister's safe.

The members of the Bonn Parliament's budget commission have been trying to get some clarity out of the Bundeswehr political command but have had no success. The Defense Ministry leadership did not want to declassify the document, which, according to BILD AM SONNTAG, contains, apart from anything else, the following conclusions:

"The MiG-29 weapons system represents a powerful, robust, and reliable aircraft similar in quality to the Western F-14, F-15, F-16, F-18, and the Mirage-2000."

In the newspaper's opinion, this was the basis for talks between the Soviet and FRG military departments.

At the Defense Ministry it was explained to me that the results of the tests done on the Soviet MiGs in Germany by no means indicate that the Bundeswehr is automatically interested in importing the aircraft from the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile specialists have already calculated that buying 200 MiGs would cost Bonn 10 billion deutsche marks less than equipping the air force with homemade new-generation fighters. Moreover, the MiGs would be cheaper to operate than the Tornados and F-4F's currently in Luftwaffe service.

However, until the FRG Government officially abandons the "Fighter '90" project, equipping the German Air Force with foreign-made—not to mention Soviet-made—aircraft remains problematical. This was indirectly confirmed the other day by J. Moellemann, FRG minister of economic affairs.

Reaction to German Plan To Deploy Nuclear Arms

LD1610053691 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 15 Oct 91

[By military analyst Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow October 15 TASS—Bundeswehr General-Inspector Klaus Naumann has announced FRG's readiness to deploy on German territory "a small number of nuclear weapons, which could be carried also by Bundeswehr aircraft".

Interviewed by the magazine "DER SPIEGEL", Naumann expressed the view that since the Soviet Union was living through a period of changes, the outcome of which is far from clear so far, several new nuclear powers may appear on its former territory instead of one. Hence, in his opinion, Germany needs protection against any nuclear blackmail, which could be guaranteed only by arming the German air force with nuclear weapons.

In light of this, it is worth recalling that the FRG is a signatory of the nuclear weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty, under which the non-nuclear states have pledged not to accept nuclear weapons from anybody and not to assume control over them, not to produce or to obtain them by any other means. Naumann's initiative is nothing but an attempt to give Germany a chance to flagrantly violate the spirit and letter of this important international document on the ephemeral grounds that it may be breached by some republics of the former USSR.

Eager for sensations, the mass media, including Soviet means of mass information, have recently published unvarified reports claiming that "some republics are establishing their control over Soviet nuclear weapons" and that they may resort to them without any sanctions from the centre. They also claim that this could now be done even by ordinary missile division commanders. Public statements by political leaders, such as Naumann's, just as recent irresponsible publications about nuclear weapons, tend to jeopardise the Non-Proliferation Treaty's regime.

In the meantime, this treaty's erosion and eventual collapse may sharply destabilise the world military-political situation. The "nuclear club's" expansion by even as little as two or three members may drastically weaken the barriers keeping in check the spread of nuclear arms.

Defector's Rank as Lieutenant Colonel Noted

PM1510114091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 91 Union Edition p 5

[By correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "Correction to Rank of Defector"]

[Text] Bonn—Following the publication in IZVESTIYA of my note about the defection of the diplomat and intelligence officer Fomenko, the Bonn correspondents' center received a phone call from the Consulate General in Munich. I was told that their former staffer's duties had been considerably overstated. He was not deputy consul general but merely vice consul (although a vice president is always a deputy president), and they inquired whether I had wanted to enhance the status of a traitor whose functions at this foreign institution were not so important. No, I naturally had no such intention!

Needless to say, it is annoying that the wrong job was given and that the Consulate General, to which I had turned for information on Fomenko, did not tell me in good time how to describe his official status (I had to resort to contradictory information supplied by local news agencies). But I think that this is no reason for recriminations, all the more so as the overstating of the defector's position by no means increases the level of damage done to our diplomacy.

So, the spy has found a new master, and good riddance! But one question still remains open: information on Fomenko's other (secret) work. Consequently, his additional functions at the consulate can, as I understand it, only be guessed at. Now it transpires that he had the rank of lieutenant colonel—in other words, not such a pawn. He could probably have done considerable damage to Soviet intelligence. Only who would want to say so in public?

Chile Refuses To Accept Honecker as Resident

OW1110212391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1626 GMT 11 Oct 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] To a question by DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent about the future of Erich Honecker, Chile's Embassy in the USSR has replied today, October 11, that according to the Chilean Government's General Secretary in the ministerial rank Enrique Correa, the wife of the former GDR leader—Margot Honecker—as any other German citizen with a valid passport, can stay in Chile without special permission, as per the current agreement.

As to Erich Honecker, the Chilean authorities explain "his position is quite different" since he has no German passport and stands to answer legal charges in Germany.

No diplomats in the Chilean Embassy had any part in solving the issue since they had no application from him or members of his family.

The USSR Foreign Ministry also denies any part in efforts for Erich Honecker's moving to Chile where his daughter Sonya lives married to Roberto Yanez. The latter was a leader of the Chilean Communist Party and lived for a long time in Moscow as a political emigrant after the military coup in Chile of 1973.

Case Updated, German Interview Cited

LD1410185291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] German Justice Minister Kinkel will arrive in Moscow in the next few days to discuss the Erich Honecker problem with Soviet authorities:

[Begin correspondent V. Kondratyev recording] While Margaret Honecker, wife of the former GDR leader, has received a passport from the German Embassy and has gone off for a time to Chile, where Honecker's daughter from his first marriage is living, Erich Honecker, himself, gave a lengthy interview to German television. He said that he is prepared to return voluntarily to Germany under one condition: if the illegal order for his arrest is rescinded. Honecker said that he would not give himself up—as he put it—to the avenging angel and that Germany did not have the right to persecute a former head of state who was carrying out his duties.

German Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel rejected Honecker's demands. Accusations of incitement to multiple deliberate murder—this refers to the border shootings—are legally justified. Under these conditions, Honecker will not receive a German passport. Chile does not wish to spoil relations with Germany. It will not allow him entry without a passport. However, there is talk of a document as a substitute for a passport, such as one issued by the International Red Cross.

Moreover, Erich Honecker stated in the interview that the GDR's collapse took place not as the result of the expression of the people's will but because of Soviet foreign policy. He said that Shevardnadze felt in 1986 that the GDR's existence was artificial and unnatural. Honecker said he was in the USSR on President Gorbachev's invitation. Anatoliy Sobchak just said in Frankfurt that it is senseless to grant people like Honecker political asylum and that it is just as senseless to condemn them.

Honecker, who looked better on the screen this time than before, more than likely will continue to live for some time at the dacha near Moscow. It is difficult to say what the final solution of the Honecker problem will be, but it seems to me that the ice is already beginning to move. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet

Logistics of Session Officially Announced

To Begin 21 Oct

LD1610131591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—It was officially announced here today that the opening of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its new composition will take place at a joint session of the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union on 21 October 1991, at 1000 in the sessions hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

May Open Without Quorum

LD1610191491 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—A session of the revamped Soviet parliament scheduled for October 21 may begin without a quorum, inter-republican committee for the preparation of the session said on Wednesday [16 October].

The new parliament will consist of representatives from Soviet republics, some of which have yet to decide on their participation in the federal legislature.

"We hope a Ukrainian delegation will attend the session. Armenia will discuss these issues on Thursday [17 October] and reports from Moldova and Georgia are not encouraging," Deputy Ivan Laptev said.

Experts believe, if the session opens it will focus on the Union treaty and inter-republican economic agreement.

News Conference Held

LD1610204291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] After a quiet spell, we now see a flurry of legislative activity in a number of republics but undoubtedly the greatest interest is presented by the session of the new USSR Supreme Soviet to be held on the 21 October. Essentially it is a question of what the Union is going to be like and if there is going to be one at all. Members of the interrepublican committee for preparing the session today had a meeting in the Kremlin with Soviet and foreign journalists.

[Correspondent V. Stepanyuk] In principle the preparations for the session are being completed. But the possibility is not ruled out that having managed to get started, the session may enter a profound legislative crisis. Because, as People's Deputy Ivan Laptev stated, not all republics have yet sent their deputations to the new Supreme Soviet. But the preparatory committee hopes that if deputies of the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moldova, and Georgia do not make it to the opening of the session, they will be able to join in its work later on. On the preparatory committee are representatives of 11 sovereign republics. In two weeks of intensive work they have mapped out the procedure for opening the session, its agenda, the standing orders of the two new chambers of the Supreme Soviet and its joint sessions, and also proposals on the stucture of the new Supreme Soviet—its committees and commissions.

The main talk at the session, Russian People's Deputy Aleksandr Kotenkov considers, must naturally be about the destiny of the country, whether there is to be a union or not and if there is, of what kind it should be. At the session it may be necessary to abolish a number of laws that hamper reform in the republics. All power is now in the hands of the republics, so these proposals are aimed at additional consultation with the republican Supreme Soviets. Representatives of the preparatory committee do not rule out the possibility that at the session the president of the country and the State Council will put forward their own proposals for reform of the Supreme Soviet as a new interlegislative body representing the interests of all the republics.

Political & Social

Economic Community Treaty, Problems Viewed

'Obvious Discrepancies'

PM1510141891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 91 p 2

[Article by A. Kireyev, Doctor of Economic Sciences: "Together or Separate? The Treaty on the Economic Community Is the Product of the Political Tragedy Afflicting Our Society"]

[Text] It is well known that when comrades disagree, their work will not go smoothly. Twelve of the republics that belonged to the former USSR realized that quite quickly, and initialed the treaty on the economic community. The first brick was thereby laid in the foundations of the future structure of our economic life. It will take time to fully assess the effectiveness of this document, which will have to be supplemented by a large number of multilateral agreements. Today we can only talk about economic analysis of the text of the treaty itself and the degree to which it conforms to trends in economic development at home and internationally.

Behind the traditional verbiage of such documents, it is important to see the main thing: how they resolve key questions of economic interaction between countries—freedom of movement for goods, services, capital, and manpower; a common customs policy and currency and financial policy in foreign trade; sources of finance for integration measures; the economic community's organs; the legal regulations governing economic activity—and a number of minor issues.

When you read the text of the treaty on the economic community carefully that was initialed by politically independent republics, you notice that the provisions it contains fall clearly into three groups.

The first includes Article 9, which, paying tribute to the current fashion, asserts that the basis for economic upturn is private ownership, free enterprise, and competition, with limited state intervention in economic activity. This article is superfluous, since these provisions govern domestic economic development and not interstate relations, and are all already enshrined in legislation at both union level (the USSR Law on the Fundamentals of Entrepreneurial Activity) and republic level (in Russia, the Law on Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity). Furthermore, in regarding private ownership alone as the basis of economic revival, this superficially striking article lags behind republic legislation, which virtually everywhere recognizes pluralism of forms of ownership. Yet a question that is really important in the context of the present treaty—the division of the former Union's property and the status of property jointly owned by republics, where such property exists—remains unresolved.

The biggest group consists of those articles in the treaty that permit different interpretations of their content.

First, what stage of the integration process has our economic community reached? Article 12 declares that the movement of goods and services within the community takes place freely, on a duty-free basis, and that a single external customs tariff applies with regard to third countries, while Article 38 affirms that a single customs territory is preserved. So it is apparently a question of an early stage of integration, the stage that certain economic groupings in Latin America and Asia are at—a customs union.

But Article 29, as if on a sudden realization, adds to this: The member states also seek freedom of movement of manpower (despite the residence permit system and the lack of a housing market), and agree to a visa-free system for manpower movements. The previous paragraph makes a passing mention of ensuring the free movement of capital. That is closer to a more mature stage of integration—a common market, the stage reached by the European Communities.

The question of whether you can invest "your" capital in "someone else's" republic and give foreign manpower access to the domestic market, and if so, on what terms, is a fundamental question, because not only is freedom of interstate trade ensured on this basis, it also guarantees the stable functioning of international systems of reproduction of labor and capital—the basis of the economic unity of a group of states. Whether this unity is recognized in our case is not clear from the treaty.

Second, what kind of currency and financial system serves the community's operations: a single system, or a coordinated system based on the member countries' autonomous systems? Here there are several distinguishing criteria: the presence or absence of a single monetary unit, a single central bank, a single budget, a single external currency policy.

Article 16 of the treaty says that the member states "recognize" the need to retain the ruble as the common currency of a single monetary system, and agree to strengthen it. True, community members are allowed to introduce their own national currencies, but in such a way that this is not detrimental to the single monetary system (?). They do not seem to realize that the introduction of an alternative currency or markings on the ruble to distinguish "our" rubles from "theirs" means a break in the money supply chain and is bound to be seriously detrimental to the single monetary system.

A single central bank, it appears from Article 17, is not envisaged; its place is taken by a Banking Union operating on the principles of a reserve system. At first glance all is clear: Each republic has its own central bank, and their activity is coordinated. But let us not deceive ourselves. If you take the trouble to reread the recently adopted Law on the USSR State Bank, it becomes clear that the functions assigned to it virtually coincide with the functions of the proposed Banking Union (Article 19), with the exception of the main function—the emission of paper money, which the treaty does not mention at all. True, it is clear from the context that emission will be the responsibility of some kind of Interstate Emissions Bank. But whoever prints money determines monetary policy. In my view, if the aim is not to disguise the crux of the matter, there is no need to set up a complex new hierarchy of banking structures, you could simply include on the board of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] representatives of its republic branches in order better to take account of their interests, as is in fact proposed by Article 18, albeit as a transitional measure.

Neither the fact of the existence of a single budget of the integrating republics, nor the fact of its absence, is confirmed in the treaty. Article 27 states that from the new year all the expenditure of the former Union budget will take place within the framework of certain "state and interstate budgetary systems." This can apparently be interpreted as the separation of the centralized budget (not to be confused with the community budget, which is spent on maintaining its institutions and financing special programs) from the republic budgets.

The remaining commitments of the former USSR—servicing the domestic and foreign debt, eliminating the consequences of unionwide disasters—demand centralized budget finance, and therefore direct tax revenue. At the same time one can perceive in the treaty the desire partially to apportion and reassign to the republics the budget deficit and state debt, which require independent tax revenue to finance them. So the budget system is far from clear. True, the situation as regards personal savings is entirely clear: All the republics confirm the commitments made in the name of the USSR to owners of investments in the USSR Savings Bank, and therefore

its unity. But that is understandable: It is risky to play political games with personal funds, the people might not understand.

The section of the treaty dealing with external currency policy is no less contradictory. Here there are provisions which are absolutely mutually exclusive. For instance, according to Article 39 the republics agreed on common membership of the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and GATT (which means that they constitute a single state), but then there is talk of the possibility of their individual membership of those organizations (which means that each of them is an autonomous state). Article 34 declares that obtaining and granting foreign loans should take place on the basis of an agreed decision by the member republics. In the next line, this provision is canceled out by the assertion that each state may also obtain and give loans itself. So that means that when the republics so wish, they will consult with the community, but if it proves advantageous to sign a credit agreement by themselves, even if this is indirectly detrimental to their community partners, then there is no need even to inform anyone. In these conditions there can be no question of a coordinated policy.

Articles 37 and 40 deal with the republics' autonomous regulation of foreign economic activity (setting of quotas and issuing of licenses) and foreign investments. This means that there will not be a single foreign trade and investments policy such as developed integrated groupings have, and therefore the creation of a real customs union for free movement of goods and services, and even more a common market for goods, services, capital, and manpower, is problematic, to say the least, for the foreseeable future.

Finally, the group of the treaty's clearest provisions includes all that relates to the economic community's institutions and other organizational and technical aspects. The functions of the institutions and their structures, including all kinds of committees, departments, and even "new organizational structures" (Article 53) which will arise from the ruins of sector ministries, are described in loving detail. The entire organizational and technical structure is crowned by a provision apparently borrowed from the CPSU Statutes, to the effect that all possible measures of influence may be applied with regard to erring states, up to and including expulsion from the Economic Community.

How should the treaty as a whole be assessed? It is badly needed, and should be signed. The document's defects result not from the compilers' incompetence, but from the political tragedy afflicting our society. It will clearly survive for a far shorter period than the specified three-year term. Amendments to the main provisions will begin immediately after it enters into force, and will depend on how the main political question is decided among the republics: Are we together or separate?

One last point. By way of an argument in favor of signing this contradictory document, the fact that it has undergone expert scrutiny by the IMF and the EC is cited. Surely they must have noticed such obvious discrepancies? I am sure they did, but they preferred to keep quiet about them, because they have an interest in our unity, and in order to move toward unity we have to take the first step, however clumsy that step may be.

'Community Will Not Actually Work'

PM1610112191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 91 pp 1, 2

["My Opinion" article by Pavel Bunich, member of the new USSR Supreme Soviet and PRAVDA economic observer: "No Need To Be Frightened of the Word 'Union'"]

[Text] There is a fierce debate in the country about whether or not there should be an economic treaty among the present and former entities of the USSR. Most states are in favor, but there are also those which are undecided and those which are against. Since this question is fundamental to all future development it must be a source of concern, requiring clear definition and the defense of positions.

When the countries of the world made the transition to foreign trade and mutual investments it was a major step. Subsequently, integration of their ties led to a higher stage of economic relations— a number of major regional markets arose: European Community, Canadian-American, Pacific Ocean, and other markets. They included the market that objectively took shape involving countries in East Europe and Asia [as published]. Its participants are bound together by a natural-climatic division of labor, complementary minerals, proximity, transport links, and, as a rule, a common language and historical and cultural traditions. In short, the Eastern market is not a Stalin-Brezhnev creation nor even a Nicholas II creation, but the product of centuries of relations between Russia, the Baltic area, Poland, Finland, Bulgaria, and so on.

In recent decades this market, whose nucleus is made up of states that are present and past entities of the USSR, has suffered major distortions under the influence of the edict system. Extremely inefficient, inadequate links arose in it, low mutual demands and unnatural prices were established under CEMA's auspices, and arbitrary, pie-in-the-sky projects were carried out, which cheapened the idea of a single market space and is putting a brake on the process of the Eastern market's gradual incorporation in the single international market.

It does not follow, however, that the eastern market is basically worthless, played out. Quite the opposite. It has always been alive and will live on, and only its surrogates will die.

In these conditions it would be a backward step to cause the East European countries to revert to the basic,

rudimentary stage of purely trade "connections." We must go on from what we have achieved, not back. So the conclusion of an economic treaty (agreement, union) is absolutely essential. It will result in the coordination of economic activities not only on a bilateral basis (which is attainable without a common agreement), but on a multilateral basis; there would be a federal reserve banking system; there would be an "in-house" arbitration court; there would be other common economic management bodies.

All this is of special significance now that the East European market, as a rule, is not competitive with the West European market, now that the pro-Western orientiation euphoria is rapidly running out and the lost sheep are returning home, like the errant husband whom no one wants apart from his former wife. The West can get along very nicely without Russian metal, Lithuanian meat, Latvian radios, Georgian resorts... It will not be very nice for us. In the future the Eastern market will follow a normal, narrower course.

At the same time, it is doubtful whether our links correspond to the concept of an economic community. I think that is jumping the gun, it is a civilized utopia which we have yet to see and which is unattainable at the moment. Even if it does bear the signatures of a number of states, the community will not actually work.

It is not a matter of terminology, after all; it is easy to accept a fine label. It is a matter of essentials. Community is being given properties which do not apply to it, but which correspond to a more primitive economic entity. For example, the movement of citizens from country to country without visas, which has been proclaimed, is not a property of a unified market economy but an attribute of a special treaty. The same goes for duty-free arrangements, mutual recognition of diplomas, common programs (without which an entire economy could remain alienated from another), and common accounts, statistics, weights and measures, and standards, arising not out of community demands, but out of worldwide trends. Even a common currency is not typical of a single economy. We have a common currency, but the economies are dispersing. "They" have different currencies, but the economies are coming together in a common European home. So a common currency is plainly not an essential ingredient of a treaty.

What are the inherent elements, then? What is the prime factor of an economic community? A single, integrated economy, in fact a market economy (otherwise it is not a community but "atomization"), one that is at a high stage of development in the case of all the community's participants. A common economy means that capital has free access anywhere and there is free movement of manpower and goods. If taxes are extremely high in one place, thus preventing an inflow of capital, then there is no community. No housing markets means that the desired movement of manpower does not occur. Shortages force the state to limit the movement of goods. When you have a strong communist regime in some states and enterprise is frustrated, you have an "Rh factor," not a community.

Here states differ from one another in very important relative economic indicators by a factor of two or three. In such circumstances identical taxes are impossible. The approaches to privatization and land reforms differ too. Some states are demanding more credits than others and are paying a higher rate of interest than others. The proportional approach to foreign trade quotas and licenses certainly does not suit everyone. It is hard to imagine standardization of prices as well.

One could cite other arguments against calling our economic links a community. It is better to revert to the previous versions of treaties, rightly called agreement or union. There is no reason to fear the word "union." Although it used to be employed as a cover for despotism, it certainly does not mean that it is so by definition. In principle "union" corresponds perfectly to a union of equal, sovereign partners, to economic collaboration among free territories. They would hand over to their new center only what they want to hand over, and no more. You would have the following formula, more or less: (0.95X) + 0.05, where 0.95 means the freedom of each state in the economy, X means the number of participating states, and 0.05 the role of the new center (this must not be multiplied by the number of states, since with the transfer of the aforementioned proportion of powers to the center the center's overall proportion in terms of the number of countries does not change).

An economic agreement will call for a minimum political infrastructure. In the first place, a supreme soviet along the lines of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe [PACE]. I expressly avoided mentioning the European Parliament. It grew out of the EC, to which we do not correspond. The PACE is another matter. It expresses the interests of the comparatively diffuse, independent economies of twice as many countries. Unfortunately there is nothing in our "treaty" about a common legislative assembly.

The council of government heads is the supreme coordinating body in the projected agreement. Naturally, this body will be subject to a conference of heads of state. So why is it necessary? Nor can we ignore the question of how it is going to make decisions: by a simple majority, a qualified majority, consensus? Seemingly, the countries will accept a consensus.

Since the "treaty" envisages the involvement of former entities of the USSR, irrespective of their current status, that is, those that agree to a political union and those that do not agree, then obviously the participating countries' top people would take turns to chair its supreme organ. I think this provision deserves to be specially financed.

A body named the "interstate economic committee" will also be introduced. There is no such institution anywhere else in the world. Through contacts and links it will have to seek worldwide equivalents. Is it not easier

to do that right away, and not indulge in the formation of new combinations of words for the same old purpose of abandoning concepts that used to be artificially filled with dictatorial content.

The intention is that the interstate economic committee's functions will be determined not later than three months after the "treaty" comes into effect. This could create obstacles to its signing, since the "treaty" has to be adopted today, and its chief elements determined later. The question would cease to exist if the states' decisive role in the economic life of the economic space were clearly stipulated right away. Then everyone would see that we have before us a new center to which the states have voluntarily delegated a small portion of their rights, and not the old Moloch, devouring everything and everyone.

It is not clear why the "treaty" does not mention the possibility of third countries (in addition to present and past entities of the USSR) joining it. They are not exactly gasping to join us at the moment, but, in the future, who knows? Therefore it is desirable to have an article about the openness of the "treaty," subject to observance of the demands and conditions set by it.

By and large, the "treaty" comes close to contemporary notions. The incorporation of the proposed amendments and additions in it will not contradict the basic burden and text and will not require a demolition job. All this can be done pretty quickly. For it to be adopted promptly, the "treaty" must, of course, be able to accommodate useful new developments.

Restructuring, Reform of KGB Continues Apace

Investigation Completed

LD1610153691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" Program]

The investigation into the activities of KGB personnel during the August putsch has ended. Evidently 32 officers, including four directorate deputy chiefs for the KGB in Moscow, are to be dismissed. The existence of lists of persons to be arrested—compiled personally by Kryuchkov and his closest associates—has also been confirmed.

A.A. Oleynikov on Reforms

PM1710085191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Major General Anatoliy Oleynikov by correspondents Valeriy Rudnev and Sergey Mostovshchikov; place and date not stated; "Which Dangers Will the Former USSR Committee of State Security Defend the Country From Now?"]

[Text] By traditional Soviet standards, Major General Anatoliy Oleynikov has had an unlikely career. He was born the son of a cook and a railway station duty officer in a small village on the Don. At the age of 28 he started as a rank-and-file operative, and at 51 he has become number two in the Soviet state security system. His previous post in the USSR KGB apparatus was all that prominent—deputy chief of the Directorate for Combating Organized Crime, with the rank of colonel. After the coup Anatoliy Oleynikov received his general's shoulder boards, a salary of 950 rubles [R] per month, a new post, and a host of commitments which include takind direct charge of reforms in the KGB. IZVESTIYA correspondents Valeriy Rudnev and Sergey Mostovshchikov met with the general to ask just how and from what dangers the USSR KGB intends to defend the country now following the separation from foreign intelligence and border guards.

[Rudnev] Anatoliy Avvakumovich, if you don't mind we will not begin by talking about the KGB reforms. Of course, the reforms are an interesting matter, but it is always interesting to know a bit about the person handling the reforms. How did you become a KGB staffer? And more importantly—why?

[Oleynikov] After graduating from the Novocherkassy Polytechnical Institute I worked at a plant—a huge defense enterprise. Naturally, our plant had a First Department and there were KGB staffers. I had been working there for several years, and obviously at some point attention was focused on me. I was invited for a chat, and it was suggested that I become a committee staffer.

[Mostovshchikov] Did it never bother you that you were working in an organization which is perceived by a significant part of the population as a kind of gigantic "informer" center? A kind of monster which eavesdrops on everyone and follows everybody around?...

[Oleynikov] Now that very thing concerns me most of all. The aim of current reforms is to exclude the possibility of using state security organs as punitive organs. Our country has a unique opportunity to rid the KGB of superfluous functions and bring all its secret work fully into line with the law. For example, telephone bugging has been curtailed and will only be done with the approval of the Procurator's Office. The same thing goes for opening and inspecting private correspondence. We have disbanded Directorate "Z" which dealt with the protection of the constitutional system: originally it had been called the Ideological Directorate.

The Government Protection Directorate, the so-called "Ninth" Directorate, and the Directorate for Liaison with Appropriate Special Troops have been removed from KGB subordination: The foreign intelligence directorate—which, incidentally, was absolutely autonomous anyway—will also be withdrawn from KGB jurisdiction, as will the border guards.

As for "informers," when I was an operative I worked with 10 agents in accordance with departmental instructions. They were honorable, upright people. They slandered nobody, and never "informed." They did carry out secret, but necessary, operations. I will never allow their names or those of other agents to be revealed as this would be disloyal.

It is another matter that secret service work should henceforth be conducted on a legal basis. Ideally, it requires that agents conclude contracts—that is, agreements on mutual obligations insofar as they do major work for us. Without their help there is no point in even talking about efficient counterintelligence or the struggle against terrorism and organized crime, which are aspects we aim to deal with.

[Rudnev] So why do you intend to deal with organized crime again? Leave it to the militia. When two totally different organizations tackle one and the same matter, conflict arises between them...

[Oleynikov] Yes, each to his own. But you know there are many types of crime. We aim to deal not with ordinary but with serious cases which jeopardize the country's security in general, and to combat crime which inflicts or could inflict substantial damage on state interests. For example, I consider it absolutely essential for an organization to exist which in its struggle with the criminal world represents the interests not of the city, rayon, oblast, kray, or republic, but of the state as a whole. And then you have to bear in mind that a monopoly—including a monopoly on criminal investigation—is not very productive.

[Rudnyev] I suppose we're saying that an interrepublic counterintelligence service should evolve into something like the U.S. FBI—that is, a federal structure?

[Oleynikov] Precisely. We would like to use the U.S. FBI as a model for our functions and structure. We shall be engaged in counterintelligence, the fight against corruption, organized crime, the protection of the financial and economic system, and also centralized personnel training. Moreover, it would be desirable for our work to be organized in line with specific state programs, for which money would be earmarked.

[Mostovshchikov] What you are saying is interesting. But there is one thing I don't understand. A federal structure does not admit even the possibility of any kind of dual subordination for local divisions. Everything is strictly controlled from the center, and only the center gives the orders. Yet now a Russian KGB has already appeared, and the republics will also have their own KGB's with the respective chairmen being appointed by the regional authorities... There can be no FBI as such. What is emerging is a Russian FBI, an Uzbek FBI, and all the other FBI's. It cannot be.

[Oleynikov] Of course, we will not be able to create an exact replica. We propose that the new, independent national security structures get together and decide which questions they will take upon themselves, and those we will handle together.

And bear in mind that we are in a difficult situation now. The recently adopted law on state security organs is already obsolete and there is no new law—no law which would define just what state security is in general. It is very difficult to work out the new concept—the concept of collective security.

[Mostovshchikov] I fear that the problem does not lie with the law—that is, with the correctly chosen words from the Russian language, sealed by a rollcall vote. On the whole, a law makes sense and is valid when it reflects reality. But imagine if we were to adopt a law on meat. The meat ceases to exist, do you get me? You are trying to make the old KGB into something new, but so far nothing new has come about in our country.

You talk about collective security. I don't quite understand what it is. Neither do I understand the concept of collective ownership. The concept of the old KGB was clear: to guarantee the safe existence of the nomenklatura—that is, the foundations of our feudal state. This makes sense. There is a definite order, and that means there are structures which defend it. Ideological sabotage? Sabotage against the nomenklatura. Crime? Anything which the nomenklatura considers criminal, and anything criminal in respect of the nomenklatura. The nomenklatura in itself is without sin. Now you dealt with organized crime. Was there really never any procedure for terminating cases if they led "to the top"?

[Oleynikov] There was such a procedure. Of course, we thoroughly investigated several nomenklatura figures. But if the threads led too high up the ladder, the ends were immediately severed. That's the way it was.

But I cannot agree with you over the law. The law is the law, and it must be the same for everyone. And new democratic laws are important, they must be adopted.

[Mostovshchikov] Absolutely. But laws are also written in someone's interests. Whose interests will be defended by your new service if it is guided by the law? You've just spoken about the FBI. The FBI's main task is to protect the existing order, which presupposes a citizen's sacred right to private property, the inviolability of this property, and the right to be a millionaire or a pauper depending on one's wishes and capabilities. But in the meantime nobody in our country is in a hurry to permit private property. For all my sympathy for the new people who have come to power, it has to be said that so far that is all they have done—accede to the goo[illegible] Soviet power which we know all about.

[Rudnev] I would like to interrupt your argument here and say that at this present moment it is difficult for Anatoliy Avvakumovich to defend, say, the interests of an entrepreneur like Tenyakov, given that he [Oleynikov] earns just R950 a month and knowing that Tenyakov earns that kind of money in a few hours.

[Oleynikov] Incidentally, this salary of R950 is only until the New Year. Then it is planned to increase staffers' wages. Obviously I too will start to earn more. But nevertheless you are right. Today's entrepreneurs earn more than I, Bakatin, or even the president.

[Mostovshchikov] First of all, I see nothing odd in the fact that someone earns more than the president. Second, there is no need to defend Tenyakov, Petrov, or Sidorov specifically. State interests must be defended. These interests have to boil down to the existence in the country of normal entrepreneurs—honest private business, which will make the country richer. This is called capitalism. Do we have capitalism? No. Your subordinates and even you are paid according to the posit occupied and not according to the level of professionalism. Will you not really be defending once again the interests of a new nomenklatura if you yourselves are a nomenklatura organization right now?

[Oleynikov] Yes, the remuneration system worries me too. The system of professional growth which is accepted throughout the civilized world is totally lacking in our country. The individual cannot become affluent unless he occupies a high ranking position, whereas, ideally, for a normal life it is necessary simply to be a professional in one's metier.

Unfortunately, this circumstance and the fact that far from all officials are clear about what we will be engaged upon in the future and what form our ultimate structures and functions will take—indeed what will happen to the country in general—do not help to create the best atmosphere in our department. People are leaving: We are starting to lose professionals.

However, I hope for the best, and I hope that some kind of certainty will emerge in the country and accordingly in our department. Indeed, it is to this end that we are working.

Pay, Conditions Outlined

LD1410093291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] A KGB staffer can work in some other organization only if this is agreed between its management and the KGB. This explanation was given to a correspondent of the Russian Information Agency [RIA] the USSR KGB's Center for Public Communications. At the same time, the spokesman of the Union KGB expressed the opinion that KGB auxiliaries can work wherever they wish.

According to the spokesman of the Center for Public Communications, the fact that any particular worker is a member of the KGB should be verifiable by documents.

The RIA correspondent also enquired about the fate of the so-called active reserve. According to RIA's information, these KGB staff carry out their work by officially belonging to some other organization and they receive the pay for their post there. If the pay for the cover job is less than the officer should receive according to his rank he receives additional pay from the KGB.

The Center for Public Communications spokesman stated that officers of the active reserve are also counted as staff members of the KGB, but he did not wish to explain which directorate they belong to.

Doubt Cast on Coup Investigators' Probity

PM1510105791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by Nikolay Andreyev: "Mishap in the State Committee for the State of Emergency Case. The Prosecutor Still Has To Give the Evidence, DER SPIEGEL Still Has To Be Congratulated"]

[Text] President M. Gorbachev has instructed two prosecutors' offices—those of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]—to conduct an official inquiry to find out how the leak of information about the work of the organs investigating the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] case occurred.

As we know, the German weekly DER SPIEGEL published texts of the interrogation of three members of the SCSE—D. Yazov, V. Kryuchkov, and V. Pavlov. And not only did it publish these; it turns out that the editorial office also possesses a video recording of the interrogations. Therefore, to define what has happened as an information "leak" is putting it too mildly. It is an outrage! Of course, everything secret will sooner or later come into the open. However, at the present time it is not simply a question of divulging an official state secret. It is about something bigger: Can an investigative team that allows such failings in its work be trusted?

A team has been set up to conduct an official enquiry into the circumstances of what happened, headed by Russian Deputy General Prosecutor Yevgeniy Lisov. For the time being we have not managed to get any information from this source. All questions meet with a standard reply: We can say nothing until the enquiry is over.

But there are very many questions. The first and main question is: How could such a thing have happened? Do journalists really have access to investigation material? In an interview on the "Vremya" program, Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov swept aside all suggestions that he or one of his deputies could have given this order. But an extremely curious hypothesis emerges in this connection: Staffers from DER SPIEGEL, therefore, looked for circuitous methods. And in our poverty-stricken country, where the ruble is worth almost nothing, it is possible to obtain valuable information of this sort for freely convertible currency. IZVESTIYA Bonn correspondent A. Balandin spoke on the telephone with the magazine's editorial office in Hamburg, but they gave out no details on this score and merely referred to "our sources" in Moscow. They

refused to answer questions about who had obtained the material and how, and how much was paid for it. A call to DER SPIEGEL's office in Moscow brought no clarification either: We do not know how these recordings turned up in the editorial office. But these, you see, are already editorial secrets which their colleagues, unlike the investigators, know how to keep.

The following version has also emerged: What if all this has been floated on purpose in order to discredit the investigative team and the Russian General Prosecutor as a loyal supporter of B. Yeltsin? The question is an interesting one, of course, but in actual fact it is hard to believe.

Whatever the results of the official inquiry, it is possible to draw one conclusion: This is a political scandal. It has become fashionable for us to refer to world experience whenever a convenient opportunity presents itself. And this world experience shows that in scandals of this sort important state figures resign. Let us remember the Watergate affair. President R. Nixon became an ex-president when his involvement in that affair was proved. The same thing happened in Germany. Chancellor Willy Brandt resigned when a GDR intelligence staffer turned up in his administration.

It is somehow not customary in our country to resign over scandals like these. Let us recall what a hole high-ranking KGB staffer V. Gordiyevskiy made in our secrets when he fled to Britain. But the man in the KGB leadership who showed favor to the traitor and advanced his official career stayed in his job and even rose to the top. He was V. Kryuchkov. Could it be that the SPIEGEL article will lead to a break with tradition and someone will resign? Because this is a an extremely grave scandal.

Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov expressed his amazement at the position now occupied by V. Stepankov, who sees nothing unusual in what has happened. It may be that the prosecution staff have their own ideas about the secrecy of the investigation.

IZVESTIYA carries a reprint from DER SPIEGEL on page seven. The text is interesting. I heartily recommend it.

Reasons for Dismissal of Shatalin Questioned

PM1110143691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 91 Union Edition p3

[S. Mostovshchikov commentary: "Generals Come and Go, But the Soviets Are Still in Power"]

[Text] The cadre revolution in the USSR goes on. On 21 September, 56-year-old Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin was released from his duties as commander of the USSR MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry] Internal Troops by USSR presidential decree. Vasiliy Savvin, the 53-year-old head of the Northwest Internal Troops Administration, has been appointed in his place. The USSR president has said nothing about his reasons for removing the commander either to the public or to the commander himself.

The countless cadre changes which have kept our country busy for the past month or so--a country where democracy triumphed in just 72 hours—have become so common that many people simply cannot keep up with all the latest dismissals and appointments any more. I am sure, however, that we cannot allow the removal from office of Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin—commander of the Internal Troops for the past five years—to go unremarked.

It is not a question of trying to find out whether or not the general was a hero on 19-21 August and took the right attitude to Boris Nikolayevich and Mikhail Sergeyevich. It is a question of how and why someone who has spent the last few years working virtually around the clock to sort out the results of Soviet domestic policy and who was not simply in command of the troops brought in to settle interethnic conflicts but in fact saved the country from real civil war, bloodshed, and vast numbers of casualties could be thrown out into the street. General Shatalin is one of the few prominent Soviet military commanders who have been able to make a career for themselves while preserving their reputation as honest men and real professionals. But now he has been given up as a bad job.

Why? Getting an answer from one of the main parties involved in his dismissal—new USSR Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Barannikov—proved rather difficult. Once so eager to talk to journalists about how he had got his new job, on this occasion the minister advised IZVESTIYA via his secretary to discuss Shatalin with his deputy responsible for cadres, Vitaliy Turbin.

The latter gave two reasons for the commander's removal from office. The first: Yuriy Shatalin was a member of the MVD collegium under Pugo. The second: The colonel general himself requested a transfer to the Defense Ministry system, from where he took up his post with the Internal Troops. Really only the second reason can be seriously regarded as a weighty argument, because the commander of the Internal Troops is a nomenklatura post: He is obliged to be a member of the MVD collegium, regardless of his beliefs and professional qualities. Pugo is likewise no argument. Shatalin was also a member of the collegium under Bakatin, for example. So what? It would be another matter if he had refused to command the Internal Troops.... That, however, is not borne out by IZVESTIYA's information.

On 17 September 1991, four days before his dismissal, Yuriy Shatalin, only recently returned to work after a month spent in hospital with a lung infection, was summoned to the office of the new internal affairs minister. The official explanation for the summons was that he was required to provide character assessments of the heads of administration in the Internal Troops: What kind of people were they exactly? The unsuspecting

Shatalin was given no hint in the minister's office that he was about to be dismissed. Viktor Barannikov, who had talked about the extremely worthy stand taken by the Internal Troops during the coup in an IZVESTIYA interview shortly before, made the following complaint to the colonel general: Why had the troops entrusted to him not gone to the president's defense during the coup?

The commander, who was in hospital at the time of the events in question, reasonably replied that neither he nor his subordinates were required by law to defend the president.

"They treated me so much like a child that I realized: Someone had already made all the decisions and the talk was simply a formality," Yuriy Shatalin said. "It was useless to argue or try to prove anything, so I made just one request: If I was no longer required, perhaps they could allow me to leave of my own accord—in the new year, say. Mainly because it was no longer only me personally who was apparently implicated in the coup—although I had nothing to do with it; there was now a stain on the reputation of the troops I had commanded for five years. It was a question of principle. I did not want to keep my job at all costs—indeed, I do not agree with the idea of hanging on until you are carried out feet first. But there must be some justice. How can they cancel out the 37 years I have served my country?"

The next day, 18 September, Yuriy Shatalin, still in his capacity as commander, went to Gorbachev's reception room with a report addressed to the president, in which he requested an interview. He was later informed that the president had agreed to receive him. Exactly when was not clear, however: He was busy.

Watching the "Vzglyad" program on the evening of 20 September, Yuriy Shatalin saw his subordinate, a senior lieutenant of the Internal Troops, revealing a sensational secret to viewers. On 16 August, the eve of the coup, Commander Shatalin had been in the Crimea, conducting exercises with his special troops, the point of which was to prepare for the armed seizure of Gorbachev at his dacha in Foros. For the general, who had been lying in a hospital in Moscow since 13 August, this broadcast was a bad sign. On 21 September, the following day, he was released from his duties by USSR presidential decree. Gorbachev never received Shatalin.

That is the end of the story. Yuriy Shatalin hopes that he will be given a pension, although he is supposed to work another three years. However, he was in Afghanistan, commanded a division until 1980, which then, thanks to him, did not develop into a punitive division, and helped eliminate the effects of the accident in Chernobyl.

His subordinate, Vasiliy Savvin, who, just two months ago, turned down his commander's offer to become his first deputy and move to Moscow but is now commander himself, is well known to Yuriy Shatalin.

"All in all, he is a good specialist," the colonel general said.

It is hard to say in what way Shatalin was a bad specialist. Perhaps it is just the times we live in: a revolution, new authorities.

One would very much like to believe that. However, the main aim of a revolution is not to change cadres but to change the system. The system in our country is apparently unchanged; the power is likewise unchanged. It is the same as it has always been: Soviet power. With the corresponding cadre policy.

Public Polled on Post-Coup Expectations

LD1510035991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2146 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Goryachev; from the "Television News Service" program presented by Pavel Ogorodnikov]

[Text] For over 70 years now, our country has been on the threshold of great changes. Pride in the fact that you are a citizen of a great power has, over this period, become somewhat blunted. However, now that there is absolutely nothing to eat, the permanent question of what to do next is again occupying the minds of our people, the majority of whom, it would seem, have grown unaccustomed to making independent decisions. And so, according to the latest sociological polls, how do we see this world and our future in it?

Over 80 percent of those polled demand a radical change in the social system, and only 20 percent of the population favor the preservation of socialism. Fifty percent stated that we should have the same kind of society as in the West. However, it should not be forgotten that Western democracies have travelled a long path of evolution, the kind we attempted to overcome through revolution. People in the West have the ability to think independently and to assess events, but this is not the case here.

According to an express poll held during the days of the putsch, only 50 percent deemed the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency to be unlawful, while 25 percent regarded them as lawful and 20 percent had no opinion at all. So much for the issue of democracy. Now for the economy: about 85 percent of the population unequivocally favors a market, but only 42 percent of those polled believe the broad use of hired labor possible. Forty-nine percent have a positive attitude to the possibility of selling state property to private individuals, while the majority reject altogether the very possibility of selling off large enterprises into private ownership, and 44 percent believe that the state should, as before, set and regulate prices.

Well, it seems we have reached the level of understanding market socialism, but too late. Economists have already proved that such a hybrid does not exist in nature, so we will probably soon realize, ultimately, that there is no such thing as socialism with a human face,

and the only thing left for us will be to make the final sprint to capitalism, backwards into the future.

TASS Carries Press Review for 14 Oct

LD1410072191 Moscow TASS in English 0701 GMT 14 Oct 91

["Press Review"—Tass Headline]

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—"We shall not survive by acting alone" is the headline of a frontpaged article by Gennadiy Yastrebov in PRAVDA about the Moscow meeting of the USSR Council of State chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev and attended by the leaders of ten republics.

Pointing to the existence of acute contradictions and different approaches to the solution of problems that are of vital importance for each republic and the country as a whole, the writer of the article emphasises the importance of the fact that practically all participants in the meeting declared in the end for signing an economic union treaty by October 15 with a reservation that they would sign and ratify the treaty "at their own discretion".

Miroslav Bushkevich, the newspaper's parliamentary news analyst, in his notes about a renewed parliament session opening on October 21, examines the question of whether the new parliament will succeed "in accomplishing the tasks facing it: to accelerate the dismantling of the ruined system, on the one hand, and to lay a legal foundation of a market economy, on the other".

Bushkevich believes that the parliament will be able to do so only if the deputies "rise above their own political ambitions, moderate their separatist ardour and begin to be guided only by common sense in the interests of all peoples."

A number of circumstances, the writer of the article thinks, may influence the course and resultativeness [as received] of the forthcoming session. The functions of the new parliament are only vaguely outlined in the law on the state power and administration bodies of the USSR for the transitional period, the law which the Soviet parliament passed on September 5.

At the same time Bushkevich agrees with the opinion expressed by some analysts that "the democrats have proved unprepared to properly exercise the power which they got somewhat unexpectedly following the failure of the coup".

PRAVDA carries a signed article giving details of the recent malfunction at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

The article points out in particular that 300 firemen were sent to the place of a fire that broke out as a result of the generator's self-actuation. About 100 firemen were directly involved in putting out the fire.

"We can state that there is no radiation-related breakdown and there is no leak of radiation," the station's director M. Umanets told PRAVDA.

Under the rubric "At the Crossroads of Opinions" PRAVDA runs a reader's letter criticising the stand of the newspaper's editorial staff during the August events.

While recognising the legitimacy of the criticism, PRAVDA's editorial staff at the same time is against the idea that the newspaper should be "stifled" through the "expropriation" of its property and that it should be deprived of funds and its distribution should be blockaded.

"If one reassesses history in earnest in order to do away with totalitarianism and lawlessness, one should not follow in any way the worst traditions of the past or revert to lawlessness and arbitrariness," points out the editorial staff's reply to the reader's letter.

"An outburst of indignation in the Chechen-Ingush republic was sparked off by a Russian television report that the National Congress of the Chechen People (NCCP) allegedly sentenced Ruslan Khasbulatov and Aleksandr Rutskoy to death in absentia," writes PRAVDA's own correspondent V. Kharlamov.

"This is a provocation aimed at frustrating the nascent stabilisation of the situation," M. Udugov, chairman of the information committee of the NCCP Executive Committee, said in Groznyy.

"Our stand now is that no state power structure of the Russian Federation has any right to intervene in the course of the Chechen- Ingush republic's presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for October 27," Udugov said.

An article by Altynshash Dzhaganova from Alma-Ata raises the issue of the hard position of women in Kazakhstan. The article points out in particular that women account for a half of the republic's working population, with 66 per cent of them working in the sphere of material production.

Half a million women work in conditions that are injurious to their health and more than 140,000 work night shifts. More than 200 women workers died as a result of accidents over the past two years. Now that the stereotypes of the past collapse, it is time at last that women's needs and concerns be addressed, the author of the article points out.

In connection with the sensational publication of the records of interrogation of the members of the state-of-emergency committee by DER SPIEGEL magazine, PRAVDA's commentator Lev Strzhyzhovskiy writes: "We have no ground to be displeased. DER SPIEGEL acted in accordance with the news law: publish everything that is of interest. At present it is our country that is the focus of the world community's attention."

The newspaper reports that the first election of a president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan ended with a convincing triumph of A. Akayev, writes about situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and S. Baburin's statement following a tour of the south Kuril Islands. [sentence as received]

International news topics include developments in Yugoslavia and the Middle East, the Group-of-Seven finance ministers' meeting in Bangkok, the situation in Zaire, etc.

TASS Carries Press Review for 15 Oct

LD1510075191 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 15 Oct 91

["Press Review"—Tass Headline]

[Text] Moscow October 15 TASS—Today's newspapers carry articles about the forthcoming signing of an economic union treaty. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA gives the opinions of a politician, a worker, parliament and parliamentarians, a businessman, and trade union figures who will, on the whole, welcome the signing of the treaty.

In PRAVDA, Aleksey Kireyev, Dr. of science (economics), analyses the draft treaty, concluding that the treaty is utterly essential and must be signed.

He believes that the document's outgoings have been "the result of a political tragedy our society has got into, not the incompetence of compilers."

"I think the signing of an economic union treaty is inevitable," Sergey Shakhray, state adviser for legal policy and a people's deputy of the Russian Federation, said in an interview published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE), reporting that the signing of an economic agreement has been postponed until Friday, writes that "from the very outset statements that an economic agreement would be signed on October 15 looked overtly unrealistic".

PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and other newspapers give prominence to the state of affairs at the Chernobyl nuclear power station following the October 11 breakdown when an electric switch malfunction caused a fire in the electric generator of the second power unit.

Speakers at a news conference given in Chernobyl by government commission members emphasised that "the malfunction was detrimental from political, moral and psychological points of view. This mishap will undoubtedly have an impact on the development of the nuclear power industry not only in this country but in the world community as well". SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a "chronology of intranquil days".

PRAVDA again raises the issue of the Aral tragedy and the position of people who live in the zone of ecological disaster. In a dispatch from the area, the newspaper points out that the ecological situation in the region remains complex and that the quality of water being used by the local population does not improve.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, in an interview with the Independent Gazette, spoke out against haste in signing a union treaty and against Russia's exclusive claims to Union legacy.

In SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, Academician Valentin Koptyuga, vice- president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the academy's Siberian branch, shares his ideas following the recent annual general meeting of the academy.

He believes that "everything can be resolved in a reasonable way. The main thing is to strive for unification, not delimitation. In prospect, the Union and Russian academies should merge into a single research conglomerate working in the interests of both Russia and the entire country."

Unrest continues in the country's correctional labour colonies. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA turned for explanations to Major-General Vladimir Gulyayev, head of one of the main departments of the USSR ministry of the Interior.

"Politics has come to correctional labour institutions and this is frightful," the general said. "Certain political movements seek to spread their influence to colonies in the belief that it would be possible to to attain one's selfish political ends against the background of an increased public attention to these institutions. This is a dangerous trend," Gulyayev said.

Lieutenant-General Abrek Ayupov, deputy commander-in-chief of the Air Force, emphasised in an interview with RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA that "combat aircraft construction could well be a currency earner for itself and the country".

"This sector is and will remain quite competitive for at least another five years," the general said.

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE writes about an approaching split in the Russian Orthodox Church and the current state of affairs among its top hierarchy.

The second extraordinary all-Union congress of servicemen's parents was held in Moscow on October 12-13. Covering the event, the press pays attention to the the fact that the congress was held in an emotion-filled and at times stormy atmosphere. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) expressed hope the congress "will become a step towards overcoming a split in the soldiers' mothers' movement and towards ensuring that the movement acts in a genuinely constructive manner".

In an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Ella Pamfilova, secretary of the Soviet Parliament Commission for Benefits and Privileges, describes the results of checking the activities of the administrative department

of the former Council of Ministers of the USSR. She writes in particular that "the materials of the check-up once again confirm the commission's conclusions about an utter lack of supervision over the top echelons of power in the country."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries a TASS interview with Nikolay Shapalin, first deputy chairman of the All-Union Council of War, Labour and Armed Forces' Veterans. The interview dealt with the social protection of pensioners. "Many of 60 million pensioners are on the verge of poverty," Shapalin said.

TRUD newspaper carries a reply by people's deputies of the Ukraine and former political prisoners to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "address to the October 1 referendum". The address was published in the newspaper on October 8, 1991.

"It is with regret that we see that the great Russian writer and thinker, who is considered the honour of Russia, is losing heart," the former political prisoners write in their reply.

The press covers in detail the situation at the country's flashpoints.

Economic

Statistics Indicate Further Economic Decline

LD1610201491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1818 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Markov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—The USSR's economic situation is continuing to deteriorate. This is shown by the statistical information on development of the national economy over the first nine months of the current year, which was made public at a press conference held today at the USSR state committee on statistics.

Compared with the same period last year, industrial production was down by 6.4 percent, which is linked first and foremost with a 7.5 percent reduction in output of production means. Production of consumer goods dropped by 3.5 percent. There was a fall in the output of practically all foodstuffs.

The extraction of fuel was down. The absence of crude oil is already having an effect on the production of the main types of engine fuel—motor vehicle gasoline and diesel fuel—and also on export deliveries.

As at 30 September throughout the country as a whole grain and pulse crops had been cut on an area of 91.6 million hectares (92 percent of the sown area). From the threshed area 146 million tonnes of grain or 16.2 quintals per hectare have been gathered in. This is 26 percent less than last year.

The volumes of potato and vegetable purchases are down. As of 7 October 5.4 million tonnes of potatoes had been purchased as opposed to 6.1 million tonnes by this time last year and 7.9 million tonnes of vegetables as against 9.7 million tonnes.

The crisis in the budget system which arose at the beginning of the current year was aggravated throughout all the ensuing months and the gap between state expenditure and revenue increased. The deficit for the January-August period amounted to 76.5 billion rubles [R] against R33.9 billion last year.

Over the nine months the country's foreign trade turnover amounted in current prices to 112.6 billion foreign currency rubles, which is 38.1 percent less than in the corresponding period last year. Exports were down by 30.3 percent and imports by 45.2 percent.

Record Low Ruble Rate on Exchange Market

PM1610160191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by I. Zhagel: "Leap at Currency Exchange"]

[Text] The latest auction at the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] foreign exchange market on 15 October saw a dramatic new leap in the dollar-ruble rate. It was 60.1 rubles to the dollar. A total of $4.32 million was sold.

Such a rate has only been known once before in the exchange's history—in July. Recently there had been a period of stabilization attributable to businessmen's belief that there would soon be changes. However, those expectations have taken too long to materialize, so it is not surprising that fewer and fewer people wish to dispose of hard currency. Initially only $3.8 million was offered at the latest auction. And it was only when the rate went up that sellers showed a little more activity.

Apart from the open auctions, the foreign exchange market has over the last week registered bilateral deals between enterprises worth another $652,000. The average weighted rate of those transactions was 50.67 rubles to the dollar. It should be noted that this rate is also a record.

Gosbank Official Quantifies Money Supply

PM1710100391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report in the IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX, and REUTER roundup]

[Text] The volume of money supply in the USSR is now 1 trillion 600 million rubles, 60 percent of which is tied up [vlozheno] in the national debt. This was stated by Valerian Kulikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosbank, at a session of the Committee for Operational Management of the USSR National Economy. "This means an increase in the national debt and there is no means of clearing it," he believes.

Steel Works Concerned About Industry Crisis

OW1510010391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2020 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chief executives of the steel works in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Kazakhstan, Moldova, Belarus, Latvia and Uzbekistan issued a statement to express deep concern with the crisis in the steel industry. According to the authors of the document, a slump in the industry will make at least 300,000 workers redundant.

Given the prevailing conditions, the executives believe it necessary to form new interrepublican structures to coordinate the steel industry (taking into account that steel works plan to issue stock), to restrict the import of coking coals and raw materials and to liberate prices of metal products beginning on January 1, 1992.

In addition, the authors suggest that steel works be allowed to sell part of the output abroad and use the hard currency earned in foreign deals to buy raw materials, equipment and to invite foreign companies to address issues pertaining to the development of the industry.

In accordance with a forecast prepared by the USSR Metallurgy Ministry, there will be a drop in the production of pig iron, steel and rolled metals in 1992:

	1990	1991 (forecast)	1992 (forecast)
	mn. [million] tons	mn.tons	mn.tons
pig iron	59	44.5	43
steel	74.5	64.5	57.5
rolled metals	56	50	44

Silayev Chairs Economic Committee Meeting

LD1610191191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1817 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—Only one of the four planned issues was discussed today at the latest session of the committee for the operational management of the country's national economy. The members of the committee analyzed the problem of the construction of industrial installations for the production of output to replace imports.

A final decision on the fate of these installations, which are of statewide importance, was not adopted. Ivan Silayev, head of the committee, did not succeed in convincing the majority of the committee's members of the need to involve the commercial structures of the republics next year in the financing of these strategic construction projects. It was decided to return to this issue after additional study.

According to Ivan Silayev, the USSR president has already sent out invitations to the leaders of the republics, who will assemble in Moscow on 18 October to sign the economic union treaty.

Further Credit to Finance Ministry Discussed

PM1610143191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk under the "Events and Commentary" rubric: "Printing Presses Working Flat Out, But the Finance Ministry Agains Asks the State Bank for Money"]

[Text] The committee for the operational management of the USSR national economy has examined the question of granting extra credit to the USSR Finance Ministry. Finance officials' proposals to cut Union budget expenditure and find additional sources of revenue for the fourth quarter of 1991 had been examined at previous sessions. The proposals were rejected as unsatisfactory and formalistic.

This time V. Rayevskiy, First Deputy Finance Minister did not try to make any kind of proposals, but simply asked the Gosbank [USSR State Bank] for extra credit to the order of 25 billion rubles [R]. And all his arguments amounted to justifying such a credit appropriation, the only source of which, according to a report, is the printing press!

The arguments are as follows: During the first nine months the Union budget failed to receive revenue to the order of R100 billion. While new expenditure—R40 billion worth—was incurred. This was due in particular to price increases in the defense complex, which were confirmed by presidential decree. The defense complex workers have put their own house in order but, on the other hand, the stabilization fund is completely empty. The budget deficit, which increased by an average of R9 billion per month, has now begun to grow at a terrifying pace: In September by R18 billion, in October by an estimated R22 billion.

Eventually the petitioners for new credit agreed that the R25 billion by which the state debt is growing is, in today's terms, a mere drop in the ocean. In actual fact today's money supply figure stands at R1.6 trillion, the disposable resources of enterprises have doubled over the year and exceed R400 billion in total, and monetary payments to the population come to R600 billion per annum.

But strangely, despite the dire situation, neither the USSR Finance Ministry nor the USSR Gosbank proposed any radical measures to rectify the situation, although more than 60 percent of the money supply is already taken up by the state debt, as a result of which investments are being cut back, and consequently retooling [tekhnicheskoye obnovleniye fondov] is frozen and short-term credits, on which commercial banks are growing rich, are increasing.

What next, then? Yu. Luzhkov put forward a wide range of proposals to increase monetary activity in the country. First, it is proposed to sell $2-3 billion to the population at the market rate, which will revive the trading sphere; second, to pinpoint sectors and complexes which can be be sold immediately; third, to switch vodka, tobacco, and sugar to free prices; fourth, to reduce defense expenditure and introduce a paid army; and five, to float a state loan and attract the disposable resources of enterprises and local soviets. This total package of measures could pretty quickly raise an amount to the order of R350 billion. Instead of this the Union structures are again proposing that the printing presses be cranked up so that we can continue living in debt.

However, the committee as a whole lacked the radicalism required to take unorthodox measures. The measures which Luzhkov proposed carrying out would strengthen the republic budgets more than the Union one. That is no tragedy. In 1992 the Union budget in its traditional concept will disappear altogether: Programs in which all or some of the republics have an interest will be financed.

Nevertheless the committee inclined toward making further use of the printing press. And it intends to submit a corresponding draft USSR presidential decree. Not even timid comments to the effect that such conservative approaches discredit both the committee and the president were heard. As always, short-term concerns outweighed long-term considerations—principles were sacrificed to immediate gain. The present committee's style of work increasingly resembles that of the scrapped Cabinet of Ministers. A dangerous resemblance!

Tax, Budget Reforms, Deficit Reduction Viewed

OW1510111791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0730 GMT 15 Oct 91

["Tax and Budget Reforms Are Necessary To Reduce the Deficit; Vladimir Raevsky, First Deputy Finance Minister to the USSR"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] SOVIET BUDGET DEFICIT COULD REACH 300 BILLION RUBLES IN 1991. This sum includes the 200 bn [billion] ruble Union budget deficit and about a 100 bn ruble budget deficit for the combined republics. In the fourth quarter, the Union budget deficit is increasing at a rate of 20 bn rubles a month.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT HAS GROWN SHARPLY SINCE 1985. From 1968 through 1985, the budget deficit grew to 18 bn rubles. However, the sharp rise in military expenditures, including the war in Afghanistan, controlling the Chernobyl disaster, and the effects of the earthquake in Armenia have provoked the rapid growth of the budget deficit. The situation was complicated by a series of mistakes allowed by the Soviet Department of Economics in the 80's, in particular, the large-scale expenditures for social needs and the reduction of tax revenues for the budget.

Growth of the Soviet Budget Deficit in Billions of Rubles

1985	18
1989	120
1990	41
1991 (prognosis)	300*

* (joint deficits from union and republic budgets)

IN 1990 THE BUDGET DEFICIT WAS REDUCED BY 80 BILLION RUBLES. In 1990, Ryzhkov's government succeeded in reducing the size of the budget deficit from 120 bn rubles to 41 bn rubles. The unprecedented results were reached, however, primarily by making sharp reductions in investments in the fuel and energy complex—oil, gas and coal mining industries. As a result, the Union budget took in lower hard currency revenues due to reduced energy-related exports, since the tax receipts from the profits of such enterprises fell.

The Union government favored lowering taxes for enterprises, and, at the same time, made a decision to increase pensions. As a result of these reforms, the Union budget lost 47 billion rubles in tax revenues in 1991.

In the mid-eighties, enterprises paid the government an average of 50-55% of their profits. Present tax laws demand 32-35%, but when various tax privileges are considered, only about 28% of profits go into the budget. With this system of taxation, the Soviet Union cannot maintain its present level of budget expenditures. On the whole, until recent times taxes in the Soviet Union made up a little over 30% of the gross national product.

THE REPUBLICS PLAYED A GAME IN 1991. The budget deficit was first divided into Union and republican deficits in 1989. At that point, 8 [as received] of the total budget deficit came from republican deficits. This year, in an attempt to balance their budgets, the republics have blocked income revenues headed for the Union budget, and counted the revenues towards their own budgets.

The Union budget for 1991, deprived of 140 bn rubles as a result of the republics' actions, had to run to Gosbank for credits in order to cover costs. Simultaneously, the republics were unable to finance their expenses by receiving the usual emission of money (which would have come from the Gosbank of the USSR). Thus, the republics were forced to run to the republican central banks for credits.

This has caused the amount of credits granted and cash emissions in the Soviet Union to rise from a total of 28 bn rubles in 1990 to between 130-140 bn rubles in 1991.

OPPORTUNITY TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT EXISTS ONLY AFTER INTRODUCING BUDGET AND TAX REFORMS. Fundamental clauses of necessary reforms:

1. Privatization and deregulation of branches of the Soviet economy, excepting the energy, transport and

defense industries and similar branches. The government should retain responsibility for the functioning of such industries.

2. Starting January 1st, 1992, a temporary moratorium on the adoption of new social programs. This cuts costs and slows the pace of further cash emissions.

3. While maintaining a general tax rate of 35 [as received], all tax privileges must be liquidated, excepting the privilege for those enterprises which invest in social and cultural spheres.

4. Substitution of the turnover tax for the introduction of state duties as well as a value-added tax which would halt the process of inflation.

POLITICAL DECISIONS MUST BE TAKEN IN ORDER TO REFORM THE BUDGET AND TAX SYSTEMS. In order to pay off the budget deficit and stabilize the financial situation the republics must privatize a significant part of state property and introduce the corresponding credit and financial policies.

Today, attempts by the republics to solve their budget problems have an impulsive character and can only aggravate the money circulation problem. In particular, the introduction of national currencies into many of the republics will inevitably lead to a drastic flood of rubles into Russia. This would cause Russia to create her own currency, which could fundamentally change the money and credit circulation situation.

The leaders of the republics must use political tools to reduce budget expenditures. Now it would be pointless to carry out monetary reform, given the present weakened state of the executive powers and the existing banking system. The effects of such a reform would be similar to the effects of exchanging 50 and 100 ruble notes, which were not felt for more than three months.

Scientists Discuss Future of Economic Reforms

PM1510145591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 October 91 p 2

[Report by Yu. Medvedev under the "Toward the Market" rubric: "The 'Center' Has Gone, But Still Nothing Gets Done"]

[Text] This is not the first year of talk on economic reform and market relations. Recovery programs elaborated with the participation of Yavlinskiy, Shatalin, Saburov, and a series of other eminent specialists have been published and read. It can be said that the "center" which, in the opinion of many, had "commissioned" these documents, no longer exists. To all intents and purposes, the business of overcoming the crisis is at a standstill. Where do we go from here? This was the subject for discussion at a meeting between journalists and a group of Soviet scientists and specialists which took place in Moscow last Tuesday [8 October].

Doctors and candidates of economic sciences and USSR people's deputies participated in the meeting. They included V. Adamov, V. Balan, V. Kamayev, M. Lemeshev, M. Bocharov, B. Tatarchuk, and others. The speakers noted that in conditions when virtually the entire country has been transformed into one enormous hot spot, it is simply necessary to earnestly and urgently tackle the elaboration of a program of social accord between the peoples of all sovereign republics. It should become the action program for the national economy's transition to a market economy and the USSR's entry into the world economy.

Somewhat earlier the experts had turned to the USSR president and to leaders of the republics and the "Big Seven" countries with a proposal to immediately convene an interrepublic "roundtable" for the collective elaboration of a program for extricating the country from the crisis. Seats around this table must be offered to scientists and specialists reflecting the interests of all republics.

The speakers said that, as a rule, previously proposed programs for economic recovery identified the end goals relatively clearly but failed to reveal mechanisms for achieving them. They were akin to the old five-year plans and detached from real life. Programs were drawn up for the sake of it. Therefore,they were inevitably doomed to failure.

In conclusion, the economists answered journalists' question.

Businessmen 'Call the Shots' in Economic Future

PM1110142791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 91 p 1

[Article by S. Razin: "Come the Summer, the Summer..."]

[Text] There is a view that the first signs of the good life in our state will appear next summer. Although such forecasts smack of black humor today, many businessmen are highly optimistic. What do they have in mind, then?

Since the putsch the crisis has hit the people even harder. It could not be otherwise, according to businessmen: The gulf between political and economic reforms during those three days in August plumbed the black depths of the Marianas Trench. There is essentially no real mechanism of power in the country: The old structures have been half-destroyed, but the new ones are still at the stage of conception. The democrats clearly did not expect to take on the leading roles so rapidly and, by all accounts, do not yet know how to to break up the total monopoly of state ownership, which is like a millstone around our necks dragging us to the bottom.

And yet light can, apparently, already be seen at the end of the tunnel. At any rate, in Alma-Ata the premiers of the republics did not start "stripping bare" the national

economy, which has fused into a single entity over many years. Now we are one step away from creating an economic community.

True, despite the optimism of Yavlinskiy and Silayev, there is growing alarm among the people (this is perceptible in the calls to the editorial office) that "Gorbachev smiles too often upon foreigners." Is the president's good mood not because he has devised a way to revive the dictatorship of the center?

I think such fears are patently exaggerated: If only because Silayev—as Union premier—will henceforward be maintained by the heads of the republics which join the new economic community, and not by the USSR president. It seems that a stable balance of interests is shaping up: The center, strengthened by the former Russian premier; Russia, weakened by scandals on the fringe of parliament; and the republics, which simply have nowhere to go. True, considerable "difference of potential" could well undermine the venture somewhat during the implementation of the economic agreement: In some republics party nomenklatura power has been buried, in others it has yet to yield.

Much now depends on how Russia is able to develop. The good life will require a tough struggle. At present the Democrats are making life difficult for one another in the corridors of power and the former nomenklatura is cheerfully carrying out privatization. Where previously there were departments, now corporations are shining brightly—for example, "Transstroy," the petroleum and gas industry, and others. Life is surprising, particularly in the military-industrial complex, where they are also getting ready for the market. Many state enterprise directors are adopting the same tactics: Fewer people means more to go around. First they get rid of workers—those with long length of service first—and then they head up an energetic campaign to get the enterprise turned into a joint-stock company and become owners with a controlling interest. The scandal at the Volga truck plant is a graphic example for the whole of Russia. Not just in the sense of how to bamboozle the people, but chiefly in the sense of how to stand up for the people's interests. Labor collectives should firmly state their rights at every plant. The nomenklatura must be seen off on every front. Will we do so?

Our chances are quite good. "Uralmash, "Kirovskiy Zavod," the Volga truck plant, and other leading firms are on the right track. A somewhat confused situation obtains at medium-sized enterprises, but on the whole the state sector, including the military-industrial complex, stands between the hammer and the anvil. Below the deprived people serving as support, above the democrats, who have decided in earnest to change the financing of the defense industry. So the plump body of the military-industrial complex is going on a diet and will have to shed its "surplus weight."

The matter will advance quickly if we dispose of the "state committees for the state of emergency on a rayon scale." Here the danger is best illustrated by a specific example: Gus-Khristalniy, a city with an auto service station with a staff of no more than 100 people. This harmonious collective decided—even before the putsch!—to live in a new way. At a meeting it voted in favor of leasing with the right to buy. But after the meeting victimization began: Those who favored leasing were all fired. The fitters applied to the authorities, but the blacklist grew even longer. At Vladimir Oblispolkom [Oblast Soviet Executive Committee] they were bluntly told: You have made your bed, now you must lie on it. If this is not the nomenklatura mafia, what is? The court, the prosecutor's office, the soviets—all are in its grasp.

Now business circles, which with the speed of the suppression of the putsch are today crystallizing into every kind of horizontal and vertical structure and which have thoroughly penetrated the highest corridors of power, have joined in with their weighty voice. True, it is easy to confuse this process with the growth of mafia gangs. Who, for example, formed the congress of russian business circles, and who persuaded !. Silayev to head it? The "Dzheneral" corporation, the "Akros" concern, the "Rostopprom" association, and other sources of wealth run by millionaires, if not billionaires. And where does the "kindling" come from? Does it not come from departmental or, I fear, party coffers?

However, it is worth repeating the mistakes of the Bolsheviks and counting others' money? What is important is not where it is obtained from, but who the money works for? I can bear personal testimony to the fact that everything at the congress of russian business circles is in order. This fall assemblies of insurance organizations, stock exchange and trade structures, small business, banking circles, and so forth were held one after the other. A mechanism has emerged in Russia which is stimulating entrepreneurs to really create market ties and which conveys the voice of businessmen—and they already number more than 10 million!—to the government and legislators.

Will the business circles have enough "clout" to drag this huge country out of the mire? I am sure they will. Apart from the Russian Congress the Council of Enterpreneurs, recently set up under the USSR president, is going into orbit. It is headed by Aleksandr Vladislavlev, vice president of the Science and Industry Union, which is now establishing hundreds of private channels for large amounts of currency to get into our economy. Germany, France, and Italy—with the science and industry unions of those countries—have set up advantageous treaties and contracts, which will appreciably stimulate defense plants to enter the marketplace.

It is also worth talking about another area of enterprise, created on the initiative of the "Soyuz-V" corporation. The essence of this idea is to repeat the EC's unique experience, but in the different, Euro-Asian market. Of course, we are still as far away from the Western model as from the summit of the Himalayas, but people must

weave new horizontal links among independent businessmen. We are talking again about an economic community where it is not so much the politicians as the businessmen who call the shots.

Thus, despite the crisis and outward chaos, a new support structure has begun to crystallize pretty clearly within the economy. The experience of NEP and the recent experience of the Asian tigers indicates that we should feel the results in the foreseeable future.

'Chaos' in Intereconomic Ties Assessed

PM1110133991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Single Edition p 1

[Article by I. Sharov under the "Economist's Notes" rubric: "Turning Nelson's Blind Eye"]

[Text] Today's State Committee for Statistics summaries are occasionally reminiscent of an obituary: Such and such has been lost, a collapse here, a shortfall there... Continuous losses, all-around minuses. From all the factors that have brought about this sad situation, I would like to pick out one that in my view is most important. Namely the chaos that exists in intereconomic ties and the paralysis of the nourishing "vessels" we call material and technical supply. Nowadays people are turning a blind eye to this extremely important sphere of the economy, a bit, as the English might say, like Nelson, who lost one of his eyes in a sea battle. Which means they are not keeping an eye on the situation at all, and since these "vessels" are completely ignored by the authorities at all levels, they are barely pulsing with life and often die out altogether.

But who should keep an eye on them? The services of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply or the Ministry of Material Resources? The former are supposed to have handed things over to the new department or are in the process of doing so. And, therefore, in this transitional period, just as before, the supply side is being left to run its own course.

And where has it run to? Well, one of its new channels is barter exchange. I have written "exchange" [obmen], but I am itching to replace one letter and end up with "deceit" [obman]. This word is extremely appropriate. Unfortunately, the foreign word that sounds like it [as published] is probably used to provide reassuring camouflage. After all, what in fact is occurring is primitive dealing, with a touch of the trade fair, which involves inevitable losses for one side in the bargain. Because someone who participates in this gypsy haggling with priority products, unrestricted by any legislative strictures or regulatory instructions, can fleece his partner. There is rarely any talk of the appropriateness of prices. But producers cannot survive nowadays without the boa constrictor of barter.

I remember the former practice as regards supply: If a plant director exchanged nails for sheet iron at his own initiative, the mad fool would have been cut to pieces mercilessly. As bureaucratic stupidity, of course, this is sad to recall, but nevertheless a watchful eye has to be kept on the flow of goods. If only to help those small-scale and insignificant enterprises which have nothing to attract buyers and which themselves require various resources, finished items, and raw materials...

I should also like to "make a plea" for those plants and factories that are unable to weather the storms occasioned by the exchanges, or rather prices. I understand that this goes against the strict code of market relations. Does this mean that those who cannot swim should be left to sink? No, if new-style chaotic economic and commercial processes are to prevail, we will lose a lot. We have already had losses. Let us not forget that today state enterprises form the basis of our economy, and we cannot allow giants like the Likhachev motor vehicle plant, for example, to sustain losses as a result of a supply mix-up. Picture, for example, the situation in which the Rostov Agricultural Machine Building Plant finds itself with over 500 supplier enterprises. Right now this association, and it is not alone, is literally groaning as a result of the anarchy prevailing in economic ties and the lack of stability in material and technical supply.

At present the mere mention of the word "center" is enough to provoke an allergic reaction in many people, but at the same time, when we talk about the supplying and normal functioning of the major industrial complexes that control the commodity market, then we can hardly do without a central control panel. Let us make it perfectly clear: Our economy is built on a space occupied by all the republics, which are now completely sovereign, and woe betide those who, having been seduced by the short-term and dubious advantages of working separately, forget about long-term advantages. Let us open our eyes and trust our common sense...

Amnesty for 'Victims of Economic Repressions'

LD1310221191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] At the latest meeting of the Enterprise Council attached to the USSR president, a proposal was made for an amnesty for all victims of economic repressions. Our correspondent talks to Konstantin Zatulin, USSR presidential adviser on enterprise matters and cochairman of the Interregional Exchange Union:

[Begin recording] [Zatulin] Perhaps not many people know that at present, according to estimates—because we do not have precise figures—there are 127,000 people in prisons or camps for speculation, for private enterprise activities. For this reason the proposal was made, and decrees of the USSR president and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president have been drafted for an amnesty relating to a whole series of articles in the Criminal Code. This proposal was put forward by the Interregional Exchange Union.

[Unidentified correspondent] But will they be able to work with those people who perhaps played a not inconsequential role in putting them away?

[Zatulin] That is a very important question, because if we are talking about an amnesty for so-called criminals, and about doing this without delay, we do at the same time have to bear in mind the other side of the issue—namely the need to get rid of those criminals who spent all their time at the helm of power. Where such people are concerned I would say the same thing as was said by a sensible Englishman to the political opportunists of the so-called long parliament in Cromwell's time: Be gone, be gone, your time has run out.

Statoil Group Opens Moscow Office

OW1710052491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" for "December 17, 1991"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Statoil Group, a Norwegian state company that produces and processes oil and natural gas, announced the opening of a Moscow office on Wednesday [16 October].

According to Ole Aga, the company's chief Moscow official, Statoil plans to participate in assorted oil and gas projects in different Soviet regions, including West Siberia.

In early 1991 Svenska Statoil, a Statoil Group branch, set up an Eesti Statoil in Estonia, and owns 100% of the Estonian branch's assets.

Scientific

Cosmos-2164 Earth Satellite Launched 11 Oct

LD1110090691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0836 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Oct (TASS)—Cosmos-2164, another artificial earth satellite, was launched in the Soviet Union on Thursday [10 October] by the Cosmos launch vehicle. The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research. The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial rotation period—94.5 minutes; apogee—720 kilometers; perigee - 290 kilometers; orbital inclination—74 degrees. In addition to scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting data to earth about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

'Progress-M-10' Cargo Spacecraft Launched

LD1710043491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0337 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—In accordance with the program for further work by the "Mir" scientific research complex, the automatic cargo vessel "Progress M-10" was launched in the Soviet Union at 0205 Moscow time [0005 GMT] 17 October 1991.

The delivery aboard the "Mir" manned complex of expendable materials and various cargos is the aim of the launch.

A ballistic capsule, which is intended for returning materials and the results of scientific research to earth, is also fitted on the spacecraft.

According to telemetric data, the on-board systems of the cargo vessel are operating normally.

Civilian Uses Sought for Space Research Program

927Q0006A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Sep 91 p6

[Report by Natalya Dvoynishnikova: "Sovereign Republics Have Not Yet Decided How To Divide Space-Related Properties: The Borders of the Baykonyr Space Vehicle Launching Site Are Somewhere in the Ocean"]

[Text] Aleksandr Radionov, chief of the space unit press service of the Ministry of Defense, said that Kazakhstan has already announced the creation of its own space agency, but the republic government still does not know what this agency's task will be. Similar ministries are being formed in Belorussia and in the Ukraine. Space-related properties are spread out across the country, approximately as follows: three-quarters are located in Russia; one-fifth are in the Ukraine, and as many in the Baltics; one-tenth of space industry locations are in Belorussia; and Uzbekistan has one-fifteenth.

In the opinion of A. Radionov, space-related issues should be left in the hands of the Union president, as is done in the United States and other countries. However, in the United States a law on space has been in effect since 1958, while we have not had a space research program to begin with—its various elements have been governed by resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and decisions of the CPSU Central Committee. While Korolev was still alive, the entire ideology of the space program was in one pair of hands—he did have influence, and he was supported by Keldysh; after Korolev's death, the design bureau split. Later, the Ministry of General Machine Building got hold of it.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: This ministry's programs are almost entirely oriented towards military space applications. After Gorbachev's statement in Reykjavik that the USSR would respond to the SDI program by taking a nontraditional step, it was this ministry that started to develop and make military satellites armed

with laser guns. One such killer satellite was shown to B. Yeltsin when, in his capacity as the chief Moscow communist, he visited a major scientific-industrial complex in the capital in 1987. It turned out later that such a laser space tank could not fire while in orbit.

At this time, the Baykonyr Space Vehicle Launching Site is a major scientific center and includes several launch and test complexes; 10,000 people are directly engaged in servicing space equipment, and another 50-60,000 are related to space flights in one way or another. In reality, says A. Radionov, the borders of Baykonyr stretch from Leninsk to Kamchatka and then further on into the Pacific Ocean. It all depends on the launch trajectory of the space vehicle. Command and control tracking system centers are located on the territories of all sovereign republics. A. Radionov believes that the results of peaceful satellite work "have no applications here. There is no demand. " His explanation is that in the past nobody was interested in space photography that could show how many hectares had been sown—after all, the raykom [rayon party committee] secretary had already reported that the sowing was completed.

"In India, for example, when they build industrial facilities, they do all the probing from space: the composition, structure, and density of the soil. They determine the placement of artesian wells with the help of space. This costs them $50-70 million: Each frame costs $300, and they get about 300,000 frames annually. Calculations show that the system more than pays for itself. This means that the next one will cost less. Here, however, we have booster rockets of the same design that carried Gagarin's Vostok that continue to take space vehicles with other crews into orbit. New booster rockets—the Zenith and Proton—have not gone through the necessary testing yet."

During the development of the Buran-Energiya multiple-use space vehicle, there were many new technologies were discovered that still have no applications, A. Radionov emphasized.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: First the technical tasks—to develop a space shuttle—were assigned to the Ministry of General Machine Building in the mid-seventies; 10 years later, experts (among whom there are many astronauts) concluded that this type of space vehicle leads to a dead end for technological development. It looks as if the Buran will never fly again. The ministry will no longer receive billions of rubles for such programs.

Chief of the space unit press service Aleksandr Radionov said that space exploration is very profitable. By the way, the first data about the Chernobyl tragedy was received by the French from space. Had space photographs been available, the catastrophe on the natural gas pipeline near Ufa could have been averted. For this, however, a law on space is needed. It is necessary to identify all potential users and to define precisely what the potential of the space exploration is today. And, of course, it needs to be advertised, so that everybody will know about space exploration and the Philistines will not think that cutting expenditures on space research will immediately put sausage on the table.

Military

Total of 259 Posts Slashed in New Structure

PM1510114591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent R. Zadunayskiy: "Performance Appraisal for Former Top-Level Political Workers"]

[Text] The question of the future assignment of former top-level military-political workers (former chiefs of military-political directorates of services and arms and categories of troops, the former USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate, and other services) will be considered next week. We are inviting them for a performance appraisal 16 October, Mikhail Nenashev, leader of the press and public relations group in the USSR Ministry of Defense commission for abolishing military-political organs, informed a TASS correspondent.

At the 10 October session the commission, chaired by Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, reached the conclusion that there is no need to retain the posts of 259 generals and admirals (former military-political workers) in the new structures. Therefore, former leaders of military-political organs with the requisite length of service will very soon be offered a discharge into the reserve. After that the next category of former military-political workers—from colonel downward—will undergo a performance appraisal. In this case the commission will use envisaged strength levels as a basis.

Shaposhnikov at Servicemens' Parents Congress

'Heightened Emotion'

LD1310222991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1717 GMT 13 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Oct (TASS)—The second day of the extraordinary congress of the All-Union Council of Servicemen's Parents began with an address by Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense. He noted that the USSR Ministry of Defense understands its responsibility for creating conditions for troops to serve in safety. According to the military chief, the reform of the Armed Forces plans for increased personal responsibility by commanders and chiefs of all ranks for training personnel and creating favorable conditions for carrying out military duty and much else.

Congress delegates then worked in sections. Alarming and sometimes dramatic problems were discussed by

parents of dead servicemen, and by the mothers and fathers of sons now serving in the Army and whose children have yet to serve.

The atmosphere during both days of the congress was one of heightened emotion. Unfortunately this influenced the aspiration to unite representatives of various groups and movements of servicemen's parents. Some delegates were dissatisfied with the work of the congress. People demanded quicker and more objective examination of the death of their children in peace time. Mothers and fathers are again insisting on meeting the president of the country.

Mothers Cause Disruption

PM1610100991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by N. Burbyga: "Congress of Soldiers' Mothers Decides Cadre Issues"]

[Text] An extraordinary congress of servicemen's parents has ended in Moscow after adopting a resolution and appeal to the USSR president.

"The congress began with a minor scuffle. On the morning of 12 October women whose sons have died in the Army came to the Academy of Social Sciences building where the congress was to have been held," A. Kondrashov, member of the commission investigating the causes of servicemen's deaths, said. "This group was led by L. Lymar, chairman of the committee of soldiers' mothers, and V. Urazhtsev, chairman of the 'Shchit' [Shield] Union. We already knew that they intended to block the work of the congress. We, therefore, decided only to admit the mothers and Urazhtsev, since he is a Russian people's deputy, to the building.

"But Lymar and Urazhtsev demanded that members of 'Shchit' be admitted to the congress, people who, in our view, had nothing to do with the congress.

"Then Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov came on the scene," Aleksandr continued. "Female extremists surrounded him and demanded that he take everyone into the hall where the congress was scheduled to begin. But the defense minister turned around and drove away, while the women and the people with Urazhtsev started forcing their way into the building. On entering the hall they yelled that the congress was not entitled to adopt any decisions. Urazhtsev, who took a seat on the presidium without authorization, also began to yell down the microphone. A wrangle broke out between the women, developing into a scuffle. The militia intervened. It soon proved possible to evict from the room the people who had gotten in illegally."

That was how the first day of the congress began. The second proved calmer and more productive. Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, addressing the congress, was able to some extent to relieve the tension. He assured the servicemen's parents that henceforth all problems would be promptly resolved by the Defense Ministry.

On Monday 14 October Ye. Shaposhnikov spent his working day in the Defense Ministry's reception room (37 Kirov Street), where he continued meeting mothers whose sons are currently serving in the Army. In the opinion of the parents, the defense minister is prepared to take decisive action. But, regrettably, they do not think that all the problems fall within the military department's jurisdiction.

What are the results of the extraordinary congress of servicemen's parents and did it help unite the grief-stricken women?

"No," Z. Molodova, who came to Moscow from Kochkanar, reckons. "The congress was needed to ratify A. Alekseyev as chairman of the USSR president's Committee for Affairs of Servicemen and Members of Their Families. But there is, regrettably, no concern for our maternal grief."

Congress Concludes

PM1610155791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 91 First Edition p 5

[Untitled USSR Defense Ministry Press Center report under the general heading: "Mothers Come Knocking on Doors"]

[Text] USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation E.I. Shaposhnikov held a private reception for delegates from the Second (extraordinary) All-Union Congress of Servicemen's Parents. The parents' statements and complaints were examined, concrete decisions were adopted, and orders were issued to the appropriate officials and services on fulfilling these decisions.

In line with the results of the congress' work and the defense minister's private reception for delegates, the Ministry of Defense will realize measures aimed at improving the moral and psychological situation in military collectives and strengthening military discipline in the Army and Navy.

Witness 'Amazed' at Condition of Pacific Fleet

PM1510095191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2131 GMT 11 oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] The Pacific Fleet is revealing its secrets to foreigners. The foreigners are amazed. Kinzu, a Japanese journalist who visited the Vladivostok base, said that he counted no fewer than 20 warships which were completely rusty. Many auxiliary vessels arrive in the same condition. He was amazed to see a rusted missile cruiser which had entered service only in 1980. He also saw the aircraft-carrying cruiser Minsk at a mooring swathed in

cables. It clearly had not been to sea for a long time. On the other hand, the Japanese journalist remarks that he did not see the pride of the Pacific Fleet, the cruiser Frunze, the aircraft-carrying Novorossiysk, or the heavy cruiser Chervona Ukraina. Kinzu suggests that they may have been transferred to a new base under construction on the outskirts of Vladivostok. It would appear that we are still keeping some of our powder dry.

Baltic Affairs

Accounts To Be Settled at World Prices

OW1610211891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has announced that beginning with next month the Federation may start settling accounts with former USSR republics at world prices. The prospect was mentioned on Wednesday [16 October] during the President's meeting with the heads of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's committees and commissions, as INTERFAX has been told by RSFSR People's Deputy Nikolay Medvedev.

Medvedev said that Boris Yeltsin was satisfied with the decision of the Supreme Soviet to prepare agreements—even prior to signing the treaty on economic union—on concrete forms of interaction with the republics guaranteeing mutual obligations.

Russia's president repeated his request for support of his appeal to parliament for delaying the elections of the administration heads to coincide with the local elections late next year.

President Yeltsin intends to make a report on the political, social, and economic situation in the republic at the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies coming later this month.

Fishery Quota Talks With USSR Fail

OW1610224691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks on fishery quotas between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the USSR in Haabneeme near Tallinn Tuesday [15 October] have reportedly failed.

As Estonian Environmental Protection Minister Tonis Kaasik told the newspaper "RAHVA HAAL" the four sides failed to share quotas because "none of them, except Estonia, wanted to take into account the international sea right and the scientific evaluations of fish reserves."

Mr. Kaasik said that the Latvian delegation led by Deputy Environmental Protection Minister Ivanov proposed "to follow the 50-year-old tradition" not to share quotas and to proceed with fishery in the Baltic Sea in accordance with quotas set by the USSR.

Mr. Ivanov suggested that "starting from January 1, 1992, each of the four countries should provide monthly reports on the amount of caught fish." When that amount reaches the quota established by the USSR the fishery should be stopped.

Mr. Kaasik described that approach as "very dangerous" and reminded that for the past 50 years Estonia has been suffering most of all because "Estonia's right to its territorial waters has been ignored all that time."

According to Mr. Kaasik, Estonia proposed the following quotas for itself: 24,000 of sprat, 3,000 tons of cod, 40 tons of salmon in the Finnish gulf and 180 tons of salmon in the open sea.

Since an agreement has not been reached at the talks, Estonia will unilaterally abide by these quotas.

Delegations To Attend North Atlantic Assembly

OW1710021591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian delegation consisting of Ulo Nugis, a parliament speaker, Indrek Toome, head of the commission on foreign affairs and Rein Tamme, a member of the commission on defense, will leave for Madrid October 16 to attend a plenary session of the North Atlantic Assembly which will open on October 21. Before the session the Estonian officials will take part in the work of some of the assembly's commissions and subcommittees.

Latvia and Lithuania have also been invited to the session.

Lithuania will be represented at the Madrid session by Audrius Butkevicius, minister of home defense, Justas Paleckis, vice-chairman of the parliamentary commission on home defense, and Ramunas Bogdanas, an adviser on foreign policy to Vytautas Landsbergis.

The makeup of a Latvian delegation is not yet known.

The North Atlantic Assembly is a representative body of the NATO countries' parliaments. The assembly holds two plenary sessions a year in the capitals of the NATO countries by turn.

As BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, the Baltic delegations will seek NATO experts' observations of the Soviet troops' withdrawal from the Baltics.

UNESCO Admits Baltics as Full Members

OW1710052291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The 26th session of the UNESCO General Assembly Tuesday admitted Latvia and Estonia as its full members. Lithuania became a member of the UNESCO on October 8.

"For the moment we are expecting from the UNESCO more than we can give it," told the session A. Abora, Latvia's consul in France.

Estonia was represented at the session by Malle Talvet, representative of the Estonian Foreign Ministry in France.

Estonia

Yeltsin's Envoy Opposes Territorial Talks

OW1710042791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President's charge d'affairs for St. Petersburg and its region Yuriy Yarov told reporters that he opposes holding any talks on the territorial issue between Russia and Estonia.

As is known, part of Estonia's lands were transferred by decision of the Union authorities to the Leningrad and Pskov regions of Russia. The Estonian parliament ratified the documents on the transfer, but shortly after Estonia declared full independence in the wake of the August coup attempt, they were canceled. Some radical Estonian politicians demand the immediate return of the disputed territories. However, the republic's leadership has not yet announced any official decision on the issue. The authorities of the Leningrad and Pskov regions are categorically against any review of the Russia-Estonian border.

Yuriy Yarov stressed the need to speed up the process of creating Russian customs structures on the border with Estonia.

He also told reporters that since he had been appointed the Russian president's charge d'affairs he wants to resign as chairman of the Leningrad Regional Council. He added that he will seek to ensure the implementation of the Russian president's decrees in the St. Petersburg region.

Russian Group Concerned by Claims

OW1710021491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Assembly of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement has adopted a resolution expressing concern about the territorial claims in relation to Russia, advanced by the Congress of Citizens of the Estonian Republic.

"We are particularly worried by the fact that the territorial claims extend to the Pechyora Monastery, a sacred place of the Russian Orthodox Church," says the document.

It also says that the borders drawn by Stalin's administration cannot serve as a basis for dividing sovereign states. "Neither can one recognize the legitimacy of the borders established during talks with the Lenin government which illegally seized power in Russia," the resolution reads.

Recognizing the priority of human rights over the rights of a nation, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement believes that the territorial conflict can be settled only on the basis of a referendum in the disputable border regions.

Latvia

Notes Establishing Relations Exchanged

LD1710090491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Yesterday [15 October] at the USSR Foreign Ministry, USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans exchanged notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

This is considered an historic day, promoting Latvia's strengthened position in the international arena. The establishment of diplomatic relations will help settle political questions as well as those connected with the Armed Forces, Latvian Foreign Minister Jurkans said after the exchange of the notes.

Similar views were expressed by Boris Pankin, who added: I am convinced that the expression of goodwill on both sides, the orientation to human, attention to human rights and an attentive approach to the rights will help to settle all questions. [sentence as heard]

Latvian Foreign Minister Jurkans said Latvia is not curently able to maintain two embassies. Therefore, efforts will be made to combine the embassies to the USSR and Russia. Janis Jurkans added that it is not yet known who will take up the ambassadorial posts to the Russian Federation and the USSR, but several alternatives are already being considered. In Riga, according to Jurkans, the embassies of the USSR and of Russia will occupy different buildings.

'New Latvia's Main Problems' Noted

LD1410060191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1347 GMT 12 Oct 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Trushin]

[Text] Santiago, 12 Oct (TASS)—We have taken advantage of the difficult situation in the Soviet Union, and have taken the control of Latvia into our own hands, Latvian member of parliament V. Birkavs declared on 11 October, during a general political discussion at the 86th conference of the Interparliamentary Union, which is under way here.

On the first day of the conference's work, the council of this international organization restored to membership of the Union Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. More than

60 states in the world have recognized Latvian independence, V. Birkavs stressed, and yet "the struggle for the genuine rebirth of the Republic is still going on. Not all the consequences of the deal between Stalin and Hitler have been eliminated." According to the member of parliament, the new Latvia's main problems are the Soviet citizens resident on its territory, the presence of the Army, and also economic difficulties. "We want to be a nuclear-free zone. The next step is the withdrawal of all armed forces from the territory of our state. We cannot agree to the schedule for troop withdrawal which has been proposed to us, and which drags out until 1996. Delay in withdrawing the armed forces will lead to a destabilization of the situation in Latvia."

V. Birkavs stated that the Latvian people cherish feelings of friendship toward all the peoples living alongside them. At the same time, the member of parliament pointed out that there exists the danger of the Latvians disappearing as a nation because of their small numbers. "The destruction of the Latvians," he stressed, "began from the time of the occupation, and we must resolve the problems of citizenship." In the conference corridors V. Birkavs said that the Latvian authorities did not intend to grant automatic citizenship to everyone currently resident on the territory of that state.

Principles for Granting Citizenship Detailed

OW1610120991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1125 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On October 15 Latvia's parliament adopted a document on the restoration of the rights of Latvian citizens and on the basic principles of naturalization. The document provides for restoring the institution of citizenship on Latvian territory on which the bill on Latvian citizenship will be based.

Here is the criteria for granting citizenship: Command of spoken Latvian, 16 years of residence in Latvia, knowledge of the basic provisions of Latvia's 1922 constitution. To pledge allegiance to Latvia and renounce another country's citizenship are mandatory. Dual citizenship is not provided for.

Latvian citizenship will be denied to the following persons: Those who are recognized by a court as having hindered the endeavours to restore Latvia's statehood; those who were sentenced to imprisonment for committing a premeditated crime; Soviet servicemen, demobilized servicemen who failed to be transferred to service in Latvia while residing on Latvian soil; those who cimmitted crimes against humanity or were found guilty of mass reprisals; drug addicts and chronic alcoholics; those who have no legal means of subsistence (apart from officially registered unemployed).

Under the document the civil rights of those who enjoyed Latvian citizenship before June 17, 1940 and their offspring are restored automatically.

Latvia's parliament will be guided by these principles when resolving the issue of granting citizenship to persons who came to reside in Latvia after June 17, 1940.

The parliament decided that the granting of Latvian citizenship (naturalization) will begin no earlier than July 1, 1992.

Document Assessed

OW1710004891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2025 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Latvian organisation named "Centre for Democratic Initiative" (CDI) intends to ask the UN, the Council of European Communities, the Northern Council, as well as a number of other international organisations to examine the documents concerning Latvian citizenship adopted by the republic's parliament. A statement circulated by a group of Latvian parliamentarians who are members of the CDI says that the resolution adopted on October 15, which sets forth the underlying principles of a future law in Latvian citizenship, is discriminatory towards some sections of the republic's population. The population of the republic consists of 53% of Latvians and 47% of people of other nationalities.

According to CDI leader, Mr Sergei Bubka, the group of deputies will press for the West to grant a refugee status to people leaving Latvia for political reasons.

The deputies also think that the document adopted will worsen Latvia's relations with Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia.

Opposition Opposed

OW1710014691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2025 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The "Equal Rights" opposition group in Latvian parliament has protested against the parliamentary resolution passed on October 15 which lays the foundation for a future law on Latvian citizenship. The resolution suggests in particular that citizenship will be granted to persons speaking Latvian and having a 16 year residence qualification. The granting of Latvian citizenship will begin not earlier than July 1 next year.

A statement issued by the group says that this decision "amounts to establishing in the republic a de-facto apartheid regime, which will become de-jure on July 1, 1992".

If implemented, the resolution will deprive many Latvian citizens of the right to receive republican citizenship and will circumscribe their ownership rights, the group claims. It will force many highly-skilled non-Latvian specialists to emigrate from the republic, and

will make people feel uncertain and vulnerable. The resolution contravenes the agreements signed by Latvia and Russia and represents a blatant violation of the Human Rights Declaration, the statement emphasizes.

At a press-conference in Riga on October 16, a spokeswoman for the "Equal Rights" group Tatiana Zhdanok declared that "they could undertake a variety of civil disobedience actions".

'Soyuz' Group Opposes OMON Arrest

OW1710005491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2025 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the "Soyuz" group in the now dissolved Soviet parliament, which used to oppose the independence of the Baltic states, have called upon Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, as well as upon the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation to make every effort in order to protect the lawful rights of deputy chief of the OMON [special purpose military detachment] riot police detachment which used to be stationed in Riga, Mr Sergei Parfyonov. The statement was signed among others by Victor Alksnis, Yevgeny Kogan and Yury Blokhin.

It follows from their statement that on October 8 Mr Parfyonov was detained in the town of Surgut in the Tyumen Region by Latvian criminal police officers following sanction of Russia's law enforcement bodies, and was then brought to Riga and put in a preventive detention cell.

"The extradition to Latvia of a citizen of the USSR and Russia is not based on any legal grounds", say the authors of the statement. The Soviet law "On Citizenship of the USSR" of May 23, 1990, rules out the possibility of exraditing a citizen of the USSR to a foreign country.

The Riga OMON detachment, which faces charges of illegal actions in Lithuania during the republic's struggle for independence, was moved to Tyumen after recognition of Lithuania's independence.

Rubiks Ends Strike; Treason Charge Stays

PM1610104891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 91 p 1

[Correspondent K. Markaryan report: "Rubiks Starts Eating in Response to Working Peoples' Requests"]

[Text] Riga—After a month on hunger strike A. Rubiks, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, has ended his strike, in response to numerous requests from working people. On this occasion, the party apparatchiks' favorite phrase is in accordance with reality. Moreover, on 13 October, at a rally in honor of Riga's liberation from the German fascist aggressors, signatures were collected for an appeal demanding the release of Rubiks, who has been in a Riga detention center for six weeks.

A. Rubiks' defense is now being conducted by two attorneys—one from Riga and one from Moscow. The former—A. Ogurtsov, who practises at the Riga No. 2 legal advice office—was appointed by the Latvian Republic Attorneys' Collegium presidium. The latter, I. Torgashev, is a member of the Moscow Attorneys' Collegium presidium.

"With the exception of Rubiks' expression of support for the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], he committed no dubious actions from the legal point of view," Torgashev says.

Your correspondent has learned that Rubiks' lengthy hunger strike has affected his health. His kidneys and heart have suffered.

"More than 700 witnesses have already made statements in the Rubiks case," I was told by R. Aksenoka, chief of the Latvian Republic Prosecutor's Office investigations administration for particularly important cases. "For the time being we are not going to change Article 59—'Treason to the Motherland'—because on 19 August Latvia was still de jure part of the USSR. Apart from Rubiks, as you know, his assistant V. Serdyukov is also under investigation. Also on the wanted list are Lieutenant Colonel N. Goncharenko, leader of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] in the Baltic region, and his two deputies, and also V. Antyufeyev, former section chief at the Baltic Transport Prosecutor's Office, who was appointed commandant of the Riga Internal Affairs Administration on 19 August."

The Latvian Republic prosecutor's Office is also still waiting for Major Mlynnik, commander of the Riga OMON, and other OMON members to present themselves voluntarily.

Cuba Offers Economic Cooperation

OW1610012891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Department for Foreign Relations has had a message from Cuba suggesting that the two countries sign an agreement on mutual supplies for 1992. Cuba offers Latvia unrefined sugar, medicaments, fresh citrus fruit, fruit juice, juice and beverage concentrates, tinned jam and fruit, fresh peppers, sweets, honey, essences, alcoholic beverages and tobacco.

It would like to import from Latvia pork fat, butter and other milk products, tinned fish and meat, flour, paper, cardboard, veneer, rubber footwear, medicaments, reagents, radioactive isotopes, minibuses, diesel electricity generators, precision instruments and industrial accessories.

The head of the legal section of the Department for Foreign Relations, Modris Mikelsons, has informed BF [BALTFAX] that negotiations with Cuban representatives have been scheduled for November.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Briefs Newsmen on Finland Trip

OW1610121091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1125 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of Lithuania's parliament Vytautas Landsbergis briefed newsmen in Vilnius on Wednesday [16 October] on the results of his visit to Helsinki. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had signed in the capital of Finland on Tuesday the Final Act of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

V. Landsbergis drew attention to a paradox reflected in the fact that the Helsinki act is called "final", though it only paved the way for the process of democratization and is "I won't speak for Germany and Japan, but we would like to sign a peace treaty with the Soviet Union", said V. Landsbergis.

When asked by BALTFAX's correspondent if he views Lithuania as a state that fought against the USSR, the head of Lithuania's parliament gave an avasive reply. "Lithuania was a state against which a war was waged", he said.

It would be enough to confirm the treaty signed with Russia in 1920 to normalize relations with the USSR, V. Landsbergis said.

With reference to the problem of talks between the USSR and Lithuania V. Landsbergis said that the Lithuanian leadership had received no official documents from the leaders of the Soviet delegation.

Commission Reveals KGB Collaboration

OW1610121691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1125 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Balys Gaiauskas, chairman of the provisional parliamentary commission on investigating the activity of the USSR KGB in Lithuania, told the parliament on Tuesday [15 October] that his commission has documents testifying to collaboration between some deputies and the KGB. He did not specify the level of deputies: MPs or members of local government bodies.

This testimony was found not long ago, and so it requires careful verification, the commission's chairman explained.

The confiscation of documents and property belonging to the USSR KGB units in Lithuania is virtually concluded, B. Gajauskas told MPs [members of parliament]. Some of the documents were taken out of Lithuania before the August coup and after it, he said. These could be secret data and files of particular importance, B. Gaiauskas said. According to him, his commission knows that during the coup in some areas of Lithuania KGB documents were taken to Soviet army units stationed locally for safety. His commission, he said, will seek to transfer them to Lithuanian authorities.

The Lithuanian Government's resolution concerning the former members of the USSR KGB states that the Lithuanian government, "taking into account the KGB's criminal anti-government activity in Lithuania", forbids the former members of the USSR KGB and their informers to hold leading posts in government structures and local government bodies for 5 years.

The former KGB members holding such posts should resign before January 1, 1992.

The document draws attention to the fact that the activity of persons collaborating with the USSR KGB structures will be considered as treason, and such persons will be brought to trial.

Citizens' Involvement in 'Genocide' Assessed

OW1710015291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on republican TV, the Lithuanian Prosecutor General Arturas Paulauskas said that the Prosecutor's Office has considered cases of ten persons suspected of genocide against Jews during World War II.

"We have not discovered facts proving their involvement in the crimes," Mr. Paulauskas noted.

"I think this is a political problem rather than a legal one," he added. He also said that the information about the allegedly wrongful rehabilitation of the suspects had been provided by the Prosecutor's Office of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Supreme Soviet

Filatov Announces 1917 Revolution Anniversary

LD1410202291 Moscow TASS in English 1957 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—The 1917 revolution's anniversary will be marked this year as usual, on November 7 and 8, said Secretary of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium Sergey Filatov.

Moscow Vice Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has recently called on the Russian authorities to have two additional days for new year celebrations instead of resting on November 7 and 8.

"The Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed this issue before Luzhkov's appeal," Filatov told TASS. "It appeared that, under established legal norms, holidays may be cancelled or postponed a year before the celebration, and not on the eve of it.

"In other case, lots of inconveniences arise: long-terms plans and scheduled arrangements are affected, and refunds for sold tourist vouchers are to be paid."

At the same time, the secretary of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium left to the discretion of councils of labour collectives, located on Russian territory, the right to decide whether or not to declare November 7 and 8 working days in order to compensate the production losses suffered on January 7, the Christmas day, or June 12, the presidential elections.

Filatov did not exclude a possibility that the Russian Supreme Soviet will put on its agenda, later this year, an issue of holidays on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Yeltsin Urges Review of Local Elections

OW1610135391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has sent an appeal to the parliament of the Russian Federation following the adoption of the law on the election of heads of local administration. The appeal says that holding the elections in December is inexpedient "because irrespective of its political results there will be inevitable confrontation between the newly elected heads of administration and the earlier-elected soviets of people's deputies."

This will aggravate the crisis still further and lead to paralysis of power in the republics, while the 300 to 600 million roubles spent on organizing the election campaign will be wasted, says the appeal.

The appeal also says that the election of the heads of administration will damage the prestige of the republic's president and Supreme Soviet. On August 22, 1991, the parliament gave the president the right to appoint heads of local administration, and the president has already used this right.

Boris Yeltsin urged the Supreme Soviet to put off the election of heads of local administration to the year 1992 and, concurrently, to elect the soviets of people's deputies for a new term. He has also sent a number of critical remarks to the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet concerning the incompatibility of individual provisions of the law on electing heads of local administration with the constitution of the Russian Federation.

Yeltsin Appeals for Postponement of Elections

LD1610231191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] An important piece of news: Russian President Yeltsin has appealed to the Supreme Soviet of the republic to postpone the elections of heads of administration, planned for the end of this year, until next year, 1992. He explained his request by the fact that, regardless of the political results of the elections, acute confrontation between the newly elected heads of administration and the previously elected local soviets of people's deputies is inevitable.

Incidentally, I will remind you that several days ago the "Vesti" program cited the opinion of sociologists from the Public Opinion Research Center, who said that if there are elections, a major victory for the conservative forces is inevitable.

Experts on Reformist Success in Elections

LD1210164191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

A group of specialists has prepared an analytical document for the Russian parliament and has concluded that if elections for the head of local administrations in the Russian Federation are held as planned on 24 November, the reformists will win in only 12 of the 68 krays and oblasts of the Federation, not counting the republics which form part of it. In the 36 regions of Russia where much of the republic's industry and population is concentrated, a win for the forces opposed to President Yeltsin is inevitable, say the experts. They have, therefore, recommended postponing the elections until the spring of 1992, or not setting a single election date for the whole of Russia.

Congress of People's Deputies To Resume 28 Oct

LD1610170991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Before our news analysis program I have time to read the resolution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet that has just

been faxed to our news service. The resolution of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies:

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To continue the work of the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies on 28 October 1991 in the city of Moscow.

2. To propose for the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies the following questions and order for examining them:
a. On amendments and addenda to the Constitution, Basic Law, of the RSFSR.
b. On the standing orders of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies.
c. Election of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. This question has been included on the agenda of the congress.
d. Election of the RSFSR Constitutional Court. This question has also been included on the agenda of the congress.
e. On replacement of part of the composition of the Soviet of the Republic and Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Signed by Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, House of Soviets of the RSFSR, 10 October 1991

Deputies Discuss Law on Indexing, Savings

OW1610183891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1450 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [16 October], the two chambers of the Russian Federation's parliament discussed the indexing of the citizen's incomes and savings.

On Thursday [17 October], a corresponding draft law will be discussed in its second reading by the Supreme Soviet. The draft law has already been adopted in its second reading by the Council of the Republic, but has not been considered for a second time by the Council of Nationalities.

The trade unions and the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Social Policy which has drafted this law insist on the adoption of the law on indexing. The law envisages social guarantees for the citizens whose incomes are lower than the established level.

The draft law is opposed by the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Economic Reform and Property, by the Commission for the Budget, Prices and Taxes and by other representatives of the legislative and executive bodies. They say that the adoption of this law will lead to super-inflation, as an additional 30 billion roubles will have to be printed. The critics of the draft law propose that only the fixed incomes of the personnel at budget-supported state organizations, and the incomes of pensioners and students should be indexed. This will only require 3 billion roubles.

Yeltsin, Parliamentary Leaders View Decrees

LD1610185791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1812 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By parliamentary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—A meeting took place today between Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin and members of the Presidium and heads of committees and commissions of the Russian Supreme Soviet. As the TASS correspondent was informed after the meeting by Yuriy Voronin, chairman of the budget, planning, taxes, and prices committee of the Russian parliament, the main topic of discussion was the question of interrelations between the presidential structures and the Supreme Soviet.

"Boris Yeltsin already has issued a lot of decrees, many of which run contrary to existing laws," he said. "Therefore, it is necessary to arrange a mechanism for the expert scrutiny of these decrees by the presidential structures and legislative committees and commissions. The president agreed with the way the question was put."

At the meeting with the president, there was no mention of any names for the post of prime minister. Boris Yeltsin sounded out the attitudes of those present, however, to the possibility of electing to that post someone who was not an economist but a professional in a certain sphere. Evidently, what he had in mind was the candidacy of Svyatoslav Fedorov. Here Yeltsin referred to the experience of Western countries, where the governments are not always headed by economists. "I objected to the president," Yuriy Voronin noted, "that in the stable socioeconomic situation of the West this is possible, but in the current Russian conditions it is scarcely acceptable".

Not Safe' for Deputies to Remain In Groznyy

LD1610203191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1745 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the Vesti newscast]

[Text] Ramazan Abdulatipov, speaker of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, has stated that nine deputies presently staying in Groznyy will be recalled because it is not safe for them to remain there much longer. The issue of the situation in the Chechen-Ingush Republic is most likely to be submitted for discussion by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 17 October.

Parliament Discusses Bills on Taxation, Incomes

LD1610235191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)— A package of bills on taxation and incomes was considered by Russian parliamentarians at separate sittings of the chambers today. The importance of this agenda is explained by the fact that the taxation system is part of the mechanism which ensures normal vital activity in society.

According to some deputies, the evasion of tax payments has become one of the most widespread types of crime. In particular, Aleksandr Gurov, head of the main directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for Combatting Organised Crime and Corruption, spoke about this. He pointed to the creation of fictitious enterprises, firms, and banks which are then shut down; bankruptcy is falsely declared and enormous monetary sums are transferred from those without cash into cash money. According to him, all this has become possible because of the absence of laws regulating market relations.

As a result bills on income tax for enterprises, taxation of banks, and taxation on incomes received in foreign currency and other bills were considered and partially approved at the sittings of the chambers.

Draft standing orders of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Congress of People's Deputies were also discussed. A working group for drawing up proposals for renewing the composition and improving the activity of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet was set up at the soviet of the republic.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Offers Businessman Prime Minister Post

LD1610163291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] A country of political and economic impotents— this is how Svyatoslav Fedorov, a possible candidate for post of prime minister, who has just returned from vacation, described Russia in an interview with the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper.

The general director of the MNTK Eye Microsurgery Unit, and a successful businessman, about whom it is said everything he touches turns to gold, was surprised when Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin telephoned Fedorov at home to find out what he thought about the idea of his being nominated for post of Union prime minister. I refused straight away, Svyatoslav Fedorov said, as I am convinced I would not be able to work in harmony with Gorbachev. After a pause, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes further, Yeltsin suggested that he consider another post—RSFSR prime minister. Fedorov gave his consent, saying that he is prepared to take that office for exactly a year. He thinks that a year would be quite enough to turn a concentration camp, as he puts it, into a free country.

Having developed a unique model of capitalism under Soviet conditions in his microsurgery center, as well as on numerous plots of land purchased by him near Moscow, Fedorov does not intend to invent a new social system if he should take the office of the Russian premier. It is necessary within three months to distribute land among peasants, granting them the right to sell it to anyone, including foreigners, not to tax peasants for five years, to privatize enterprises as soon as possible, and turn them into joint- stock enterprises while splitting large enterprises into several small enterprises, since it is more difficult to persuade large groups of people to carry our instructions.

These are excerpts from an interview granted by Svyatoslav Fedorov, a possible candidate for post of RSFSR prime minster, to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

Yeltsin Formalizes Decisions Procedure

PM1510142191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Russian President and His Documents"]

[Text] The recent argument in the Russian parliament about the legal standard of certain documents adopted by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president seems to have reached its legal conclusion. Boris Yeltsin has confirmed in an order the procedure for preparing, adopting, and publishing his official documents.

All decisions adopted by the RSFSR president in accordance with the duties laid upon him by the RSFSR Constitution and laws, the order states, shall be documented without fail and deemed to be official documents.

When preparing drafts of official documents the order recommends that the question of their expediency and content be elaborated, that they be subject to expert assessment and analysis, and that they be coordinated with the necessary organs, organizations, and officials....

Under the new provision a draft official document must without fail be signed after modification by RSFSR state counselors for legal policy and responsible for the corresponding area of state activity, and by the RSFSR state secretary for issues falling within his purview.

Draft presidential decrees of a normative nature, as well as those appointing or relieving RSFSR presidential administration officials of their duties, shall be examined at a State Council session chaired by the Russian president.

The State Council's conclusions about the expediency and content of the decrees under preparation shall be of an advisory nature.

The preparation of official documents shall envisage the obligatory participation of an RSFSR state counselor or other State Council members dealing with the relevant area, while normative decrees and orders shall require the participation of the RSFSR state councillor for legal policy or, in his absence, the RSFSR justice minister.

Yeltsin Suggests Soldiers' Mothers Leave

LD1410182491 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 14 Oct 91

[By correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today received a group of soldiers' mothers, picketing the central staircase of the "White House", and suggested that they leave the building of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The president refused to consider applications of servicemen's parents until the mothers leave the building.

In words of L. Lymar, an activist of the movement of servicemen's parents, Yeltsin considers it a prerogative of the Soviet president and the Soviet Defence Ministry to examine cases of servicemen's deaths.

The mothers have been staying at the "White House" for 13 days on an action of protest, with the name "staircase of protest."

On steps of the central staircase, they displayed pictures of dead servicemen and homemade posters with demands to carry out an investigation and punish those guilty of their sons' deaths. A group of soldiers' mothers have gone on a hunger strike.

In words of the picket participants, the head of the building's guard has called on them to leave the "White House."

According to Russian People's Deputy Vitaly Urazhtsev, it was Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy who ordered to expel solders' mothers from the building. Movement activists Lymar and Ukhabina said that staffers of the Interior Ministry and the State Security Committee, guarding the Supreme Soviet building, refused to expel the mothers.

However, the mothers grew alarmed after meeting in the elevator armed members of the OMON [Special Purpose Military Detachment], a special police unit, who had allegedly come to the Supreme Soviet building to "clear the building from strangers."

It appeared later that they were personal guards of the Russian president.

Impact of Setbacks on Yeltsin Prospects Eyed

PM1710103391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 91 p 2

[Article by A. Aleynikov: "Yeltsin's First 100 Days"]

[Text] Yeltsin's first 100 days as president can hardly be regarded as one of those events which are greeted rapturously in the public consciousness. Furthermore, it is probably true that for the first time in the political practice of recent years there has been increasing skepticism of Boris Nikolayevich not only from his political opponents but also from the voters who just yesterday chanted "Yeltsin, Yeltsin!" for hour after hour. What is the reason for this apparent although not very clear deterioration?

Yeltsin's uniqueness is not that he is an irrational politician capable only of plunging off bridges and speaking on top of tanks. It would be a great oversimplification to present him a destroyer, a penetrating force which destroys the old. That is the Yeltsin of the past. Clashes with powerful political opponents for the sake of clashes are an aim without a purpose.

It has long been known that "power corrupts." True, much depends on the wielder of power himself and on his ability to counter a remorseless political machine whatever its name—democratic or communist. Has the Russian president managed to remain a human being excluding from his mind the image of himself as a messiah sent to liberate the country? Has he resisted the revolutionary spirit and fervor which always leads to improvisations and unpredictability, which was fine and understandable in the period of struggle. Berdyayev aptly noted that revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries understand the meaning of revolution least of all. Thus the main result of Yeltsin's 100 days may be considered the fact that he is ceasing to be a revolutionary (in the bolshevik sense of the term). Not at once, not instantaneously, but after loss and pain, after vacillation, after experiencing the farcical and grotesque.

Yeltsin has always been able to turn his defeats to his own advantage, drawing political dividends from them and adopting the kind of political decisions which have been perceived with approval not only by professionals but also by the mass of voters and the man in the street. So, here are the defeats that the president has suffered as president.

Defeat number one. The extraordinary passion for the political sphere of activity itself. Yes, the decree on departyization was necessary and essential but only when effectively accompanied by any even slightly tangible economic decision.

Defeat number two. Yes, Novo-Ogarevo was objectively inevitable. Yes, there is no disputing Yeltsin's achievement that the deadlock on the problem of the new organization of the Union was broken. But, when

thinking about the future relations with the new republics the reform of Russia proper was backburnered. I would venture to claim that many of the parties to future political and economic treaties have gone further in their restructuring. An example is Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan, who is already actually implementing state reforms.

Defeat number three. In August-September there was a unique opportunity for the victorious powers to implement so-called unpopular measures. It has already been demonstrated that there were and will be no alternative. But then their implementation could have been compensated not by rubles but by something far greater—a tremendous level of confidence in Yeltsin the Victor. And it is no coincidence that the further the memories of the August events recede into the past, the closer winter becomes, and the less bread there is, the louder the question will be asked in the waiting lines: Is democratic power better than communist?

Defeat number four. The obsession with the reality of his own power, the deliberate understatement and negation of Gorbachev's role, and the assumption of full responsibility for events not only in Russia but also in the former Union as a whole. For example, the desire to participate personally in resolving interethnic conflicts (the not entirely successfully Karabakh trip). Armed with the same formal attributes of power before August, Yeltsin could only criticize Gorbachev. Today, however, they have changed places. The lack of positive results and changes can no longer be put down to the CPSU and the center. The absurdity of such a line of argument is obvious and the ever increasing burden of daily life will accelerate the process of the electorate's disillusionment with its idol.

That is why Gorbachev's outward alienation from domestic problems is no coincidence. He, it seems, has retreated into "tacit opposition," having every reason in the future not to answer for the inactivity of the republic authorities but to sharply criticize them for it. Previously people did not listen to him but attributed all the arguments and conclusions to the struggle for his own political influence. Now life may alter the arrangement of forces in mysterious ways.

Defeat number five. The flight of many popular political figures back to Gorbachev's "team." Objectively occupying key roles at the Union level, Bakatin, Yakovlev, Silayev, and Yavlinskiy will inevitably oppose if not Yeltsin then the ideas of Russia's exclusive right to the former Union. Having not implemented radical personnel changes within the Russian leadership, Yeltsin, it seems, has consciously drawn a line within what was just yesterday his united apparatus. Although, who can tell, perhaps his ostenatious remote contemplation of the palace skirmishes in the White House was due to a desire to look at his supporters from outside and delve deep into the question of "who is who?"

Will Yeltsin manage, as always, to benefit from the defeats and turn them to his the advantage not only of himself so much as of everyone?

One of our well-known philosophers, who has dedicated a book to Boris Nikolayevich, called him the man who "destroyed utopia." It will be bad if he also destroys his own dream of a normal democratic, civilized life. Let us admit to ourselves: If after 100 days Yeltsin is bankrupt that will be a common failure, a common crushing defeat.

Poltaranin Discusses Fate of Yeltsin's Reform

LD1710084791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] There have been claims in the foreign press that the Russian President Yeltsin relies more on authoritarian methods than on democratic principles. Examples given are his decrees nationalizing the Communist Party's printing houses, suspending some newspapers, and giving emergency powers to the mayor of Moscow, and finally his statement about the Russian borders. The question asked is: Can Yeltsin become another Stalin? In view of this thought the Moscow-based newspaper ROSSIYA has asked a member of the Russian State Council, Mikhail Poltoranin, if he could conceive a situation when the White House in Moscow might be stormed by the very ones who defended it in August. This is how Mikhail Poltoranin replied:

This will happen if the Russian leadership fails to continue reforms and breaks its promise to improve living standards. There will be a real uprising. The Army will join in the uprising but later it will suppress it, and establish a military dictatorship. But I hope this can be prevented. President Yeltsin clearly understands what is looming. That is why he is being forced to take measures regarded as authoritarian in the West. Nearly all Western politicians and journalists were born in democratic society and know nothing else but democracy in its purer, form. They simply cannot understand what it means to struggle against a totalitarian system. It requires extraordinary decisions. The Communist Party cannot be persuaded or defeated by discussion. It has always been the backbone of the totalitarian system and the military industrial complex. The talk that it is not democratic to ban Communist Party activity in the Army, although it is clear that the army cannot be wrested from the party. Otherwise, the talk that it was not democratic to suspend newspapers that supported the plotters, although this decree of the president is in full keeping with the Constitution, and now that the newspapers have reregistered they are coming out, such talk, I say, prompts the conclusion that the democrats have taken the path of totalitarianism. Our problem is that most of the laws now enforced in Russia do not correspond to present day realities. Much has changed since the republic's constitution was adopted. At that time the laws were written to consolidate the power of the Party bureaucracy. We who wished advanced

reforms find ourselves in a dilemma since the putsch—either we must continue struggling in the web of obsolete laws, or we must declare these laws invalid. The president's decrees are the response to quickly developing events. They will be in force for only a short period until a new constitution is adopted and corresponding laws are enacted. If we were to accept the rules of the totalitarian system, we would give the system a chance to revive and nuclear weapons would again threaten the United States and Europe. But, aware of our responsibility, we have chosen a different way. We are going to prevent a resurgence of totalitarianism in Russia. I know many do not understand us now, but later I am sure people will admit that we were right.

Yeltsin Under 'Pressure' on Saburov Resignation

PM1510153591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by M. Berger: "Russian Reform Changes Its Second Curator in a Year. Yevgeniy Saburov Is Prepared To Work, But With a Different Government Team"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Right from the start [Russian Economics Minister] Saburov was in favor of signing the Treaty on the Economic Community on condition that a number of fundamental provisions were enshrined in it. These included the retention or establishment of a single interstate emissions bank for the ruble zone, freedom of movement for goods, capital, and services within the community framework, and a coordinated export and customs policy. On this basis he joined actively in work to prepare the draft treaty at the end of last month under the leadership of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and, as he puts it, upheld Russia's economic interests in the discussions.

"We met with Yeltsin," Saburov relates. "He made a careful study of individual articles of the draft treaty, making his annotations on them. He expressed his desire to sign this document on several occasions, although at the time nobody expected that the final text would be acceptable to the 12 republics. Having been empowered by the Russian president—and it is his prerogative whether or not to grant these powers, since heads of state should sign the treaty—I traveled to Alma-Ata. After this I visited him in Sochi, where he fully approved the work that had been done, noting only that the Council of Ministers should be informed and there should be consultations in the Supreme Soviet.

"On returning to Moscow," Saburov continued, "I came up against a strange reaction—to put it mildly—from the Council of Ministers. (As is well known, the Russian Government adopted a resolution that in effect nullified the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic economics minister's signature on the Treaty on the Economic Community, although Saburov himself thinks that such a decision was not within the government's competence in this instance—M.B.) I see this as an attempt to pressure the Russian president to make him radically revise his attitude to the treaty. Unfortunately, tendencies which I cannot share are gaining the upper hand in the government; you will notice that the marketeers are leaving it. I am not refusing to work and I am prepared to serve in the Russian Government, only not as it stands and not with this team." [passage omitted]

Saburov Explains Reasons for Resignation

PM1510102791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 91 p 1

[Interview with former Russian Economics Minister Yevgeniy Saburov by S. Bobrovskiy under the general heading "The 'White House,' Where Hearts Are Broken"; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] It seems that the rubric "Look Who Has Resigned" is becoming a permanent feature of our newspaper. The other day Yevgeniy Saburov announced his resignation from the post of Russian minister of economics, following in the footsteps of I. Gavrilov.

[Bobrovskiy] Yevgeniy Fedorovich, is your resignation linked to obscure differences of opinion in assessing the Alma-Ata documents? And, by the way, please help us to sort out whether the interrepublic economic agreement exists at all or has the Russian Council of Ministers disowned your signature on it?

[Saburov] The agreement on an economic community has been initialed. The Council of Ministers could not disown my signature inasmuch as it did not empower me to sign it. It was the president who empowered me. Nazarbayev, Kebich, and Karimov signed the treaty, and Yeltsin has promised to do so. At least Boris Nikolayevich approved our activities in Alma-Ata.

But as far as the reaction of the Russian Council of Ministers is concerned, it was completely out of the blue for me. The treaty is advantageous to Russia, and that is obvious. So the opposition from ministers is a complete mystery. I think the point is that the present Council of Ministers is of the point of resignation: The chairman has quit, the Council is ineffective, and it is in confrontation with the president.... Under these circumstances certain ministers are initiating debates around the treaty in order to remind us of their own existence.

[Bobrovskiy] Is it realistic to speak of accord among republics when it is not even possible to achieve accord within the government? Maybe it is already too late to save the Union and it is time to save the people?

[Saburov] I am deeply convinced that the slogan "Every man for himself!" is inappropriate. Russia can survive alone, but at what cost to itself?! An isolationist policy will lead to political and economic collapse as early as this winter.

[Bobrovskiy] You put the question this way: Can the republics go it alone? But you can after all put it another

way: Can they make it together? The "price war" is already a reality. As is fear of a strong center. On the other hand a weak center is of no use to anybody....

[Saburov] But you can after all make the center strong but not across the board. For example, the banking system should be unified and very strict. But there can be differences in the fundamentals of republics' economic legislation.

[Bobrovskiy] Yevgeniy Fedorovich, maybe the fuss surrounding the treaty is in actual fact a fuss surrounding the post of Russian prime minister, which for the moment remains unfilled? You are mentioned as a contender.

[Saburov] Hardly. I consider my candidacy to be unrealistic. I think it is more correct to talk about a general desire to paralyze the Council of Ministers.

[Bobrovskiy] ?..

[Saburov] You see, the dispute is over what kind of Council of Ministers there should be—an economic organ under someone or other, or a serious organ for implementing reform. Two opinions have clashed. The State Council is locked in a mortal struggle with the president's administration. Such a situation is all right in the "Three Musketeers" but very bad in real life. You see I am speaking so candidly that this alone renders my candidacy for the post of Russian prime minister impossible.

[Bobrovskiy] Then where do you figure— on the side of the "king's musketeers" or the "cardinal's guards," or do you prefer to stand above the fray?

[Saburov] It is hard to stand above the fray, but you can remain outside it. I prefer to consolidate with the people. I see my civic duty as being to say: If the opposing sides do not come to their senses, all of this will end very badly. Russia is a country in an explosive situation.

[Bobrovskiy] Does this means that your resignation is nevertheless an ultimatum?

[Saburov] No, it is simply a resignation. I do not consider that the Council of Ministers is at the moment effective. I do not consider that it is constructive. Therefore I do not consider it possible to work in the Council of Ministers.

[Bobrovskiy] What is your prognosis for the immediate future?

[Saburov] A lot will be resolved in the next two weeks. Everything depends on whether reason or the desire to stick to one's guns wins the day.

[Bobrovskiy] But what should happen over these two weeks?

[Saburov] First, the signing of the treaty. Second, the appointment of a Russian premier who will be able to carry out the reforms. And be able to come to agreements.

Saburov Says Economic Treaty Obstacles Not Resolved

LD1510171691 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 15 Oct 91

[By parliamentary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow October 15 TASS—The economic union treaty is designed to proclaim principles for pulling the country out of the crisis, consolidate the ruble and facilitate the free movement of commodities, services and capital, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yevgeny Saburov told Russian people's deputies at a meeting here today.

According to the latest information, the treaty is due to be signed on October 18. But the Russian vice premier said not all obstacles have been removed from the road leading to the signing of the economic union treaty.

For instance, he indicated that the Ukraine and Azerbaijan unexpectedly announced their claims related to the country's military-industrial complex. Saburov said in order to settle this dispute it is necessary to define what is to be regarded as the common property of the republics and how it should be protected.

The basis of the new treaty, initialled by 12 republics, is formed by principles of private enterprise and privatisation as the groundwork for the development of the economies of the republics, Saburov stressed.

He said the treaty would go into effect after its participants signed the agreements on the banking system, the removal of customs barriers between republics and on the establishment of an agency to supervise compliance with the treaty.

Text of Resolution on Union, Economic Agreement

PM1410140791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

["Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Resolution 'On the Concept of a Political Union of Sovereign States and on a Treaty on an Economic Community'"]

[Text] Proceeding from the present sociopolitical situation and having scrutinized the draft Treaty on an Economic Community of 28 September 1991, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers resolves:

1. To confirm that the RSFSR Government has not empowered anybody to conduct any talks or consultations whatsoever with representatives of the sovereign republics.

2. To entrust comrades Ye.F. Saburov, A.F. Kamenev, M.D. Maley, N.V. Fedorov, I.N. Lazarev, and A.N. Shokhin with the task of submitting for scrutiny by the RSFSR Council of Ministers within one week a concept of a political union of sovereign states and a draft treaty on an economic community.

To carry out consultations with the sovereign states on the concept of a political union and on an economic agreement, and to submit the relevant proposals to the RSFSR Council of Ministers by 15 October 1991.

3. Prior to the appointment of a chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, to grant the right to sign a Treaty on an Economic Community on behalf of the RSFSR Government to comrade O.I. Lobov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

O. Lobov
Deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
2 October 1991; No. 516

Justice Minister Comments on Economic Pact

PM1510130991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Russian Justice Minister N. Fedorov, by unidentified IZVESTIYA correspondent; date and place of interview not specified: "Without Political Commitments, an Economic Treaty Is a Pipe Dream"]

[Text] [IZVESTIYA] Nikolay Vasilyevich, there is a sharp debate in both political circles and the mass media about the treaty on the economic community, Russia's place in it, and also the statements by a number of statesmen and their responsibility for "words and deeds."

[Fedorov] Allow me to start off with the latter. I am convinced that a responsible position is always a critical one. Obviously not one of nihilistic criticism, but one of constructive criticism. You cannot make responsible decisions without exacting professional and political expert assessment (of actions, programs, and projects). Meanwhile, we are being excessively hurried along (excessively, because there are already sufficient grounds in our economic position not to delay). But the excessive or, to put it more harshly, irresponsible haste in concluding the treaty you mention is quite obvious.

[IZVESTIYA] Yes, but where is the "criminal intent" here? Society needs economic order, and economics does not tolerate separatism, hence the calls for the speediest conclusion of the treaty and the speeches in defense of the document which has already been initialed in Alma-Ata. Isn't that so?

[Fedorov] Yes and no. The Russian Council of Ministers is now being subjected to attacks, sometimes couched in the most dramatic terms, like these lines published in IZVESTIYA: "It will go down in history forever as a terrible paradox that revolutionary, democratic, great Russia vacillated and was slow to extend a hand to the other republics at a critical time for the motherland." Before extending a hand, the fate and duty of a responsible politician is to consider whether it might be bitten off to the elbow or even altogether. Meanwhile, analysis of the text of the treaty has clearly shown the following.

First. In this form, it most seriously infringes on Russia's economic, including financial, interests and does not protect its national assets; furthermore, it restricts political sovereignty and legal competence.

Second. The treaty will inevitably lead to the preservation or restoration of Union structures (including ministries and departments) whose existence is not envisaged by the acts of the last Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Third. The text of the treaty is full of excessive numbers of absurdities, clumsy (even ungrammatical) turns of phrase, and discrepancies, which are absolutely intolerable in such an important document. For instance, what is the value of the second paragraph in Article 46 on "the right to **veto**... by a qualified **majority** vote"? A veto and a majority are incompatible institutions. However, it is impossible to provide a thorough analysis of the many articles in the treaty which are completely unacceptable to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] in a short interview.

[IZVESTIYA] Could you not put in a nutshell the fundamental shortcoming of the text of the treaty (although the difficulty of this "task" is clear)?

[Fedorov] Despite its many imperfections, I believe that the "fallaciousness" lies not so much in the text of the treaty (deficiencies and mistakes are the result) as outside it. I have in mind the very concept and ideology involved in the formation of the community. To create an economic union of states (note: states) without determining its politico-legal forms or its treaty, constitutional, state, and legal mechanisms is just another pipe dream.

Ignoring politics may prove to be the worst policy for society. Here you can see a policy whereby the political, power, and management structures of the former center (or organs closely resembling them) are erected (first de facto and then de jure) on the economic community, thus crowning the "economic space" with the crown of political power, so to speak.

Do you want proof? Okay: the articles on applying former Union legislation and on the supremacy of the treaty and agreements appended to it over national legislation (according to this article—even over the constitutions of sovereign states). The list could be continued, but I will restrict myself to a conclusive feature. As is known, the drafts of the new (political) Union treaty which are being prepared by the center (this in itself is good, but it should be concluded not after the economic treaty but at the same time or even before it), anyway, as far as I know, the political treaty no longer

talks of a Union of sovereign states, but a single "union democratic state." [sentence as published] So that's what it's all about!

[IZVESTIYA] But are you (I mean the Russian Government) not hindering the conclusion of a simply vital economic treaty?

[Fedorov] First of all, we are not hindering it, but proposing that the procedure for its entry into force envisaged in the treaty itself be made shorter. According to our estimates, its initialing, signing, ratification, the conclusion of additional agreements, and the transfer of documents to the depositary state can in no way take less than six months. So the concern displayed by the initiators of the present treaty for saving time is purely superficial. In reality it is again a case of "running on the spot," which is such a familiar phenomenon to us all. Second, the raw or, to be more precise, badly prepared text of the treaty which was signed "before it was drawn up," so to speak, is more like a brake on economic integration than a motor.

[IZVESTIYA] A great deal is being said in the press about internal discord in the Russian leadership.

[Fedorov] Yes, this does exist, and society has the right to know about it. But here we have two sides, two sets of questions, and two spheres of interest and actions, if you like.

The first point in order of sequence, but not in order of importance: the personality clash. I stress, personality, and not simply ambition; these things are not the same. It is a question of personalities and their view of political problems, ways to resolve them, and methods of operation. An important factor which must not be ignored, if only because unfortunately it plays more of a destructive role than a positive one, although the latter has to be taken into account, is that a collective decision can materialize even from a collision between personal positions. And second, there is the divergence between the positions of whole organs, or at least of influential groups within them. This phenomenon is inevitable in a democratic state. Legislators are displeased with the government, the government with the legislators, the president may be displeased with both... "Things have their measure," as the ancient Romans wrote. And in Russian we say—"everything in moderation." Let us apply popular wisdom and finish the interview on this note.

Silayev on Status of Council of Ministers

LD1310180891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Oct 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Last week two deputy chairmen of Russia's Council of Ministers, Saburov and Gavrilov, declared that they were resigning. In an interview with our program, Economics Minister Yevgeniy Saburov, stated that after Ivan Silayev's departure the Council of Ministers had ceased to carry out its functions.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Ivan Stepanovich, for a long time you led Russia's Council of Ministers. What is presently happening with it?

[Silayev] I think that what has happened has regrettably been illogical. There were actions on the part of particular individuals, who are thinking more about certain political ambitions than about the economic development of Russia. Obviously the president will look into this. In particular, he expressed the intention that Saburov carry out his functions and does not intend to release him. The latter had been authorized to participate in the discussions in Alma-Ata and to sign the document. He said all this yesterday. Today he said there is much work to be done and it must continue. [end recording]

Zhirinovskiy Begins Presidential Campaign

LD1210200291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Soviet Union's Liberal Democratic Party, has spent three days in Volgograd within the framework of the campaign which he has begun to put himself forward as a candidate for the post of president of the country.

In an interview to a TASS correspondent, he referred to the lack in our country of democratic traditions for conducting election campaigns, when 40 days can be given over to elections for a country's president. Therefore, he has to begin his campaign just now, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said, adding that he needs at least three days in every oblast center. Speaking about the meetings he had in Volgograd, the leader of the Liberal Democrats stressed that 70 percent support him.

Foreign Minister Kozyrev on Union's Future

PM1510083091 Paris LIBERATION in French 10 Oct 91 p 19

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Bernard Cohen in Moscow—date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Passage omitted] [Cohen] The rivalry between the Soviet "center" and the Russian Federation leadership is having major repercussions. You readily call yourself a "soyuznik," an advocate of the Union and not of its disintegration. What precisely do you mean by that?

[Kozyrev] First, that the disintegration of the USSR would certainly not be in Russia's interest. But the aim is certainly not to safeguard the former Union, that was the aspiration of the 19 August putschists and their adventure demonstrated that the old system could no longer function. That system must be destroyed, it has been severely weakened by the abortive putsch, but it is still there. In retrospect, I would say that perestroyka is

essentially an attempt to safeguard that old system by giving it a "human face." Henceforth, the aim is for the states participating in the old Union to join a new association, freely and democratically of course. If I am a "soyuznik" it is because I think that Russia has a decisive role to play in that process. There are two reasons for that: Its natural, industrial, and scientific resources which give it the material basis for economic recovery and for contributing to the recovery of the whole Union, and the democratic vitality which has already been expressed and is still being expressed, the people's desire for change.

[Cohen] During the meeting in Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan) held by the leaders of the republics without Mikhail Gorbachev on 1 October, Russia was only represented by its economy minister who gave his approval to the draft economic union treaty which was adopted then. Since then, several Russian officials have severely criticized that document. Does Russia want to go it alone?

[Kozyrev] The question is not whether to be for or against the Union, but what Union do we need? The text adopted in Alma-Ata (which is based on the plan drawn up by economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, with the approval of interim Soviet Prime Minister Ivan Silayev—LIBERATION editor's note) is vague if not ambiguous on certain points. It is still based on the utopian Russian communist spirit which always aspires to try to solve everything simultaneously and as quickly as possible, completely ignoring the methods of its implementation and showing complete vagueness about the prerogatives of the new bodies proposed. In the present situation, this utopian mentality, especially in the economic sphere, may prove very dangerous: The vacuum left could still be filled by authoritarian, "neo-Bolshevik" tendencies which, as I have said, have not disappeared.

These criticisms certainly do not mean that the Russian Government does not want "integration"—the new Union. What it wants is to negotiate a radical reform program with the other republics. The whole preparation for the Alma-Ata meeting took place amid terrible confusion in our region, if only because Ivan Silayev was still both interim Soviet prime minister and prime minister of the Russian Federation (he resigned from this latter responsibility on the eve of the Alma-Ata meeting—LIBERATION editor's note) and was trapped by that twofold responsibility. Indeed, the Russian Government as such was kept out of the whole process. We have just spent three days working on the Alma-Ata document and we can now clearly say that it must be amended, that in its present form it could even encourage the authoritarian centralist tendencies and favor the "center" to the detriment of the republics.

[Cohen] In the international sphere, how does Russia assert its individuality? In the disarmament sphere, for instance, it is Mikhail Gorbachev who is setting the tone, who is the West's real interlocutor.

[Kozyrev] And that is good. Our aim is to help the Union to evolve toward a new thinking, a new vision of international relations. Let us take nuclear disarmament: Boris Yeltsin was the first person here to welcome the proposals put forward by George Bush on 27 September. We want to clarify and radicalize the Soviet position on this subject. It is a source of satisfaction that Mikhail Gorbachev has accepted the method proposed by George Bush with unilateral initiatives on disarmament instead of lengthy negotiations. But what is not yet clear is the logic behind all that, the goal being sought which, we think, should be world strategic stability. Reducing the number of nuclear warheads is important, but that is only meaningful if we are convinced that bipolar confrontation must be ended once and for all.

[Cohen] You want to discuss the development of economic exchanges between France and Russia with the French Government. But it is the USSR which is represented abroad, which continues to have responsibility for international relations. How can Russia establish its own channels of international trade?

[Kozyrev] In my view, there is no reason to divide the diplomatic representation of the USSR among the republics at embassy level. I recently discussed with Willy Brandt the question of the republics' presence in the United Nations and he proposed an interesting formula according to which all the republics would be represented in the UN General Assembly where the USSR would have the status of coordinator and observer and would continue to sit on the Security Council. That being the case, direct dialogue must be established between Russia and the other states and I will therefore propose to the French officials the opening of a Russian Consulate and Chamber of Commerce in Paris.

[Cohen] Francois Mitterrand's intervention on French television on the first evening of the putsch—19 August—shocked many of those in the USSR who opposed the putschists and sparked off political controversy in France. On the morning of 20 August, you hurriedly left for Paris—was that linked to that statement which had seemed not to firmly condemn the perpetrators of the coup d'etat?

[Kozyrev] No, Paris was chosen largely by chance, my mission being to leave the country as quickly as possible in case the situation were to deteriorate further and to organize a response abroad and inform the Western leaders of what was really happening here. But there was some logic to that chance, because as soon as I arrived in Paris, the French Government made every effort to help me, and proved very receptive to our explanations. I have no criticism to make. It is true that Francois Mitterrand and other Western leaders initially seemed rather disturbed by the strange nature of that coup d'etat, especially because in many cases Soviet embassies practiced systematic disinformation. On the evening of the 19 August, we thought that the Western leaders lacked direct information and I left. Then everything went very well.

Kozyrev Discusses Conflicts Within Federation

PM1710101891 Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Sophie Shihab in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Shihab] The Russian leadership is now torn by conflicts. Is there a political rationale behind them?

[Kozyrev] They are not conflicts among individuals but differences of opinion among people who share a common objective. All are in favor of radical reforms and think it desirable to maintain political and economic union among the republics. But some think that reforms are only possible with a strongly structured central government; others think this is desirable but unrealistic. There are two reasons for that—on the one hand the republics are not prepared to abandon their sovereignty; on the other, the remaining central government structures cannot guide the reforms, they can only hamper them.

[Shihab] So what are you proposing?

[Kozyrev] The problem is that these old central bureaucratic structures are now virtually only functioning in Russia. Some republics have not been in the Union for a long time and all have their own republican ministries. In Russia, however, the center-republic dualism persists. The existence of two governments and two bureaucracies side by side on one territory is paralyzing the reforms and even all action. This paralysis in the center is strengthening the chaos in the Union and threatening the unity of the Russian Federation itself.

But, for instance, if 80 percent of central structures—the sector ministries which still exist under other names—were to come under Russian leadership, as has happened in the other republics, Russia could finally emerge from its lethargy. And, instead of waiting for the signing of a Union Treaty, which is not happening, could define its own reforms and invite the other republics to participate in them without constraint.

[Shihab] Is that what Gennadiy Burbulis, Mr. Yeltsin's right-hand man, meant when he called for Russia to inherit the Union structures?

[Kozyrev] Yes, except that Russia does not aspire to replace the old center to lead the republics, but to create its own structures. Russia cannot be a "center," but nor can the old center. That is why we are opposed to the document on economic union signed in Alma-Ata. It does not define the functions or structures of the center which has every chance of returning to the same old amorphous system without authority. Furthermore, the document still talks of "consensus" (soglasiye in Russian), in other words it recognizes the right of veto, a right which the most conservative republics will use—those which hurriedly accepted the agreement.

It does not propose Western-style integration, but a leveling down, as in the Soviet kolkhozes. We want to replace the principle of consensus by a mechanism of "coordination." Because of its objective influence, Russia can propose reforms and the republics can accept them or not, or accept them later. We must also avoid all the vague areas of the agreement, which, in 20 cases, stipulates the need for "complementary" agreements.... These agreements are necessary, but it will take a long time to draft them.

[Shihab] So there will be no agreement signed soon?

[Kozyrev] Why? I think that the necessary amendments can be made very soon: We can revise the text, issue a unilateral declaration explaining Russia's position on the coordination mechanisms, or sign a protocol to be added to the agreement. But at present the important thing is still to reorganize the Russian Government, to strengthen it to make it capable of implementing the reforms and, at the same time—and not later—to negotiate with the republics.

If we do not succeed in pursuing a financial reform in coordination with the republics, Russia can start its own reform autonomously: This will not necessarily lead to more customs barriers than already exist. The republics could find that they are forced to join the financial improvement measures decided by Russia while refusing to obey injunctions from the center.

[Shihab] Do you accept that the "center" has authority in the military sphere in view of the fact that you have just proposed to President Bush's envoy "more radical" nuclear disarmament measures that those proposed by Mr. Gorbachev?

[Kozyrev] Nuclear arms are one of the sectors in which the center is vital. But Russia has the opportunity and the obligation to give its view, without replacing the center in the negotiations. I think that the ideas which I have put forward will be taken into account by the center. These ideas go in the same direction: For instance, on the START treaty, which makes provision for a 40 percent reduction in warheads for long-range missiles. Mr. Gorbachev has proposed making a 50 percent reduction and we have proposed 60 percent. We also want to follow Mr. Bush's lead in qualitative changes aimed at stability, for instance in the development of ABM systems.

[Shihab] You are the only one of the republics' representatives visiting Paris to occupy the premises of the Soviet embassy. Is this another instance of Russia wishing to inherit the Union's structures?

[Kozyrev] No, the Union's embassy must, of course, be open to all the republics. And we do not have Russian ambassadors. President Gorbachev has international stature and he can play a major role in supporting the Russian reforms. I think that we in Russia will all agree on one point: A strong Russia, which is becoming an

attractive partner for the other republics, is the only chance of building a new Union which everybody is now trying to flee.

Communist Leader Interviewed on Party's Future

LD1210110791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2030 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Interview with Russian Communist Party First Secretary V. Kuptsov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Topical Report" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kuptsov] There is simply no possibility or need to speak about any political activity of the Russian Communist Party today. This does not mean that communists have gone underground somewhere, for example, or have left the party, for example, or have renounced the CPSU. There are such instances, of course, too. But the absolute majority of communists are still on the party's books today, they work at their work places today and, of course, they wait for the party's future to be decided.

[Correspondent] Today the CPSU is accused of many sins.

[Kuptsov] The CPSU has been accused of many sins already for a long time. Today these accusations are merely acquiring a more purposeful nature. This is quite understandable since the deterioration of the social and economic situation in the country, the development of the negative processes which have occurred over the years of perestroyka as well as the recent events in August are, to a great degree, linked with the CPSU's name. There are some grounds for this. The party was the ruling party, it was incorporated into the administrative-state structure, it carried out, practically, the functions of state, and it is clear that it bears responsibility both for the implementation of policy and for its planning. And here one ought to agree, it seems, that there is a part of truth in this.

Of course, one should say straight away, that the CPSU will, never exist in the form it was before that event; I am firmly convinced of this. Neither will the CPSU continue to exist in any similar form.

[Correspondent] Is that because the communists have realized that this is wrong or because society forces them to change?

[Kuptsov] Well, first of all, society forces the party to be different. Second, the basis, the foundation itself has changed, that is, the union that existed before the events and the union that will emerge differ in very many ways. Therefore, it seems unlikely that we could resurrect the CPSU and this should not even be attempted. It appears that there will be no union-wide party of this kind in the near future, and I think that this should be brought on restoring public parties. It appears that they will acquire great importance.

And, at a union level or that of the structure that will be formed, perhaps, some coordinating council of the Socialist International type or other similar organizations with a deliberate vote should be created.

As to the Russian party itself, I am absolutely confidence that such a party will reemerge, regardless of the way that the processes develop. And then I think that today state bodies must not and cannot ban the Russian Communist Party or a party which will express the interests of people since there are 7.5 million Russian communists. How can they be driven underground? After all, we would thereby create a most potent abcess in society which could continuously destabilize the situation. This must not be done, and, especially, people should not be removed from political activity in a planned way.

[Correspondent] You believe that such a situation is simply unreasonable?

[Kuptsov] Well, not only unreasonable; on the whole, it cannot be shared by politicians or lawyers today, and society, too, I think, understands that the party cannot be left in such a state. As first secretary, I cannot guarantee that some underground congress or underground association, which will take upon itself the solution of some questions, will not take place somewhere, bypassing us, bypassing the party Central Committee and leading structures, which do not function. Therefore, it is fundamental to determine time limits. We also raise the issue of state authorities giving us an official permission to hold some organizational event, a plenum or a congress, at which we could examine the party's fate.

So I see the party's future in the following way. Of course, the Russian Communist Party will split into two parts, or even not into two but will have, perhaps, three or four trends. And one should not see a problem here.

[Correspondent] Three or four trends within one party?

[Kuptsov] No, I think they will already represent separate parties.

[Correspondent] That is, 7.5 million communists could divide into three parties, in your view?

[Kuptsov] Yes, I think they will split into precisely three parties. There will be a separate party based, it appears, on the Leningrad Initiative Congress. There will be a party—it has already left—close to the Democratic Movement of Shevardnadze or Rutskoy's party,—a number of communists are going there—and we do not prevent this, either leftwing or rightwing trends. On the contrary, we believe that each communist must make his choice now.

But even today's analysis shows that about 40 percent, something about 1.5-2 million people, will absolutely clearly stick to leftist center positions. They will adhere to the idea of socialism, the socialist path, and choice. The program or the draft program that has been published could become the basis of this party; it should be adjusted, though, taking into account the present day

situation. Of course, it will be a party of a new type, it will have a different structure, different leading bodies, it will formulate issues linked with horizontal structures, the territorial principle of its structure. Well, this will be a parliamentary-type party.

'Radical Democrats' Faction Profiled

PM1710093191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Oct 91 First Edition p 2

[First in series of articles by Inna Muravyeva: "We Present a Topic. The Political Complexion of the Russian Parliament"]

[Text] The year 1991 can bluntly be said to be a jubilee year in the annals of Soviet history. Seventy years ago, at the 10th congress of the bolsheviks who had come to power, the leader of the world proletariat, Ulyanov-Lenin, managed to get a resolution adopted on party unity. And from that time even the very word "faction" was expunged from our history by fire and the sword and viewed as the most terrible swearword. By proclaiming the struggle against factionalism and left-wing, right-wing, and other deviations to be one of the main principles "in the defense of ideological purity," the CPSU cruelly and systematically exterminated all dissidence from political life.

The emergence of the Interregional Deputies Group in the Union parliament in 1989 was at the time almost unreal. After the long decades of Soviet power, it was declared—not covertly, but openly at a Congress of People's Deputies broadcast to the country and the world—that the opposition has the right to exist and to defend its point of view loudly, at the top of its voice. Yes, the Union Interregionals paved the way to a normal parliamentary situation when the unanimous "We approve" slowly but surely began to be replaced by the dissonance of many points of view ultimately representing different strata of society. And the malicious cries of "Stop talking and get working" were, it may be said, one of the last holdovers from our astonishing "unanimity." The Decembrist Mikhail Lunin once stressed that the existence of a political opposition is the main indication of civilization in a society.

Judging by the number of factions in the Russian parliament and by the passion with which they defend their positions, our politicians have set off down the road of civilized work.

Today we begin a discussion of the factions registered in the Russian parliament and about the coordinators and leaders of these groups. True, since these parliamentary factions were registered, not only time but it sometimes seems a whole era has passed. August was a historic watershed which divided "political and perhaps even historical time into two parts—before the events of 19-21 August, and after them."

Many factions, such as "Communists for Democracy" and "Communists of Russia," despite all the differences in their positions, are undergoing significant changes, beginning with their very names.

Sergey Yushenkov, the coordinator of the most radical faction, which originally actually called itself the "Radical Democrats," says:

"Many things changed after the events of August. As far as our faction is concerned, our radicalism with regard to the CPSU (and it was this which was the decisive factor in the beginning) no longer has any meaning. We were radical with regard to the theory and practice of the CPSU—in fact, mostly the practice. Maybe now we will become conservative democrats.

"As for groups with a different orientation—'Communists of Russia' and 'Russia'—they are now forced to concern themselves with making sure that the law, and not arbitrariness, prevails. And in this connection, however paradoxical it may seem, they may be allies of democratic forces. Of the truly democratic forces, for which methods based on law in political activity are more important than ochlocratic methods and which believe that democracy is indeed the observation of procedure. It is in this sense that they are becoming allies of the democrats, because only the law is capable of protecting the erstwhile 'ruling' party from the arbitrariness and willfulness of those who are in power today.

"Yes, the attitude of these groups to many questions has changed. Incidentally, 'Communists of Russia' and 'Russia' condemned the putsch 20 or 21 August. At the White House in those tragic days we saw not only representatives of the democratic forces, but also members of other—procommunist—factions. The parliament is becoming different, perhaps more 'consensual,' before our very eyes. Even the results of recent votes testify to this. The law on the election of heads of administration, for example, was passed quite quickly. Although it is just this—parliamentary consensus—that I very much fear. I fear that in such a situation there will not be a constructive opposition. And I have always favored a constructive opposition; I still favor it, and I always will. Baburin says that 'consensus' is good; what is bad is 'conformity.' I fundamentally disagree with him. Consensus is very bad. You can find this stated as far back as in Kozma Prutkov [fictitious bureaucrat under whose name A.K. Tolstoy and the Zhemchuzhnikov brothers published satirical works in 19th century]—just reread the 'Draft Law on Introducing Consensus Into Russia.' Our history has already demonstrated graphically enough where consensus leads. Okay, this is a polemic... Returning to where we began... Yes, the complexion of parliament has changed. I would say that it is becoming more realistic. The rapprochement between factions is based on realism and understanding of the fact that today, at the present stage, there is no force other than parliament (together with the presidential power structures, of course) capable of stabilizing the situation in the republic.

"But all the same, let parliament be multifaceted, and let there be without fail—always!—room in it for constructive opposition."

So let us introduce the factions of the Russian parliament.

The "Radical Democrats" faction.

Coordinator:

1. Sergey Nikolayevich Yushenkov (Kiev Territorial District No. 20)—chairman of a subcommittee of the Russi n Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media, Links With Social Organizations and Citizens' Mass Movements, and the Study of Public Opinion, Moscow City. Member of the commission under the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to investigate the causes of deaths and injuries among servicemen and military construction workers and protect their legitimate rights and interests in peacetime; a nonparty person, born in 1950, a Russian; he has higher education, attended the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy, is a candidate of philosophical sciences, and has awards.

From the "Radical Democrats" group's program statement:

The group was formed at the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies with the aim of resolutely defending radical reform positions in all spheres of public life.

At the second congress the group declared the need for the USSR president to resign; for the return to the people of property illegally appropriated from it by party organizations; and for the sanctity and inviolability of private property.

At the third congress we firmly supported the political demands of the striking miners.

The group's strategy and tactics are based on principles radically different from the basic principles of the CPSU's vital activity.

Our main principle is that any lofty goal can be achieved only by legal and humane means, including all forms and methods of nonviolent pressure on the part of the people's masses.

Our ideal of social development is: "The free development of each constitutes the conditions for the development of all."

In our opinion, the basis for the implementation of this ideal is the unconditional defense by the state of the rights and freedoms of the individual, and above all of private property, since it is private property, while being the motive force of development, which is least capable of opposing the monopolistic domination of any forms of social ownership.

We support the full and consistent realization of the principles of the Declaration on RSFSR State Sovereignty, the speediest adoption of a Decree on Power, and the transformation of the Congress of People's Deputies into a working parliament.

We are prepared to compromise on the most important issues of parliamentary activity with any groups of a democratic tendency. We oppose pseudo-consensuses with the dying system which delay our goals.

Infighting in Power Structure Analyzed

PM1710104191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 91 p 1

[Commentary by S. Razin under the general heading "The 'White House,' Where Hearts Are Broken"]

[Text] We have survived the putsch but in real life nothing is changing. The counters are bare, people are becoming brutalized, and the ministers are at loggerheads....

It has come to pass that the democrats have not shared power. We can probably move on to personalities and reduce all the conflicts to a primitive struggle for influence over the president whom all the people have elected. The obvious pairs of "duelists"—Khasbulatov versus Shakhray, Burbulis versus Petrov, Silayev versus the Council of Ministers—seem to testify in favor of this interpretation. However, the sparks of yet another confrontation are flaring up—the president versus parliament, which sets you thinking about other interpretations of what is going on.

The structure of strong presidential power in Russia is being elaborated by Yeltsin's immediate entourage without any particular publicity. Nobody really consulted with the deputies, but they did not make a fuss as there were at that time clearly not many other means of fighting the center and Pavlov's cabinet. However, the situation has changed so sharply now that what is clearly a good thing—strong presidential power—is being transformed before our very eyes into the opposite.

Why for example did a fight break out in the Russian Government, which for more than a year was a rare example of a union of like-minded people? Having been present at one of the sessions—at the very one at which the ministers "turned the heat on" Premier Silayev—I can draw the conclusion: Different ministers made different gambles. Deputy Chairmen Saburov and Gavrilov resigned and intend to continue to work with Silayev, only now within Union structures. But what about the government's other members?

The Council of Ministers has many chiefs: the presidential chancellery, the State Council, parliament, and the president himself, leaving aside, of course, the premier. Whom should it obey?

Strange as it may seem, the presidential power structure is strikingly reminiscent of another painfully familiar one—that of Staraya Ploshchad: It too has its own Politburo—the president's administration—and its own Central Committee: the State Council, which has many powers but little responsibility. Anybody can "take charge".... However, all over the world a different model of executive power has been adopted: president-premier-ministers. And any superfluous administrative component only disorganizes work.

However, it would be wrong to ascribe the scandals in the "White House" solely to disturbances in the corridors of power. Yet another confrontation has emerged since the coup's failure: Russia versus the republics. This leitmotiv permeates all the democrats' dissension. Let us recall: Silayev asks Yeltsin to restore the powers of several Union ministries, and immediately an "inquest" begins in the Russian Council of Ministers. Saburov goes to Alma-Ata with oral instructions from the president to initial the economic agreement and lands in the soup. Why is the Russian Government so obstinately torpedoing Yavlinskiy's latest mission? I think that State Secretary G. Burbulis' statement gives the answer to this question: Russia should be the legal successor to the center and it is better for it to extricate itself from the crisis on its own.

Naturally after such a statement the scandal spread beyond the confines of the Russian Government. The Movement for Democratic Reforms came out in favor of immediately signing an economic agreement. However, the discussion of this draft in the Russian parliament makes this prospect very uncertain. As a result of the parliamentary debates the opponents of Yavlinskiy and Silayev have scored points. Many deputies came out in favor of signing the agreement in principle, but at the same time introduced amendments which will inevitably lead to further consultation with the republics. If this process is dragged out, Russia will have no option but to declare its independence and "act in accordance with circumstances."

"First we must strengthen Russia"—the stance which Burbulis publicly proclaimed looks like it is beginning to take hold of deputies' minds. A bloc "For Popular Accord" has been formed in parliament and is contending everywhere that a weak Russia cannot be a strong partner. That the idea of a single economic space is a good one, but not at the moment. That Yavlinskiy is a year too late with his program and now no one will be able to give guarantees that the economic agreement will be carried out.

What choice will Russia make? The question remains open. The president's strategy is for the moment not clear even to his entourage. The president is manifestly holding his peace. However, so far Yeltsin's political sense has not let him down....

Ministry Seeks Coordination Role in Foreign Ties

PM1610133391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Oct 91 p 3

[Report by Sergey Smenedyayev: "Diplomats and Entrepreneurs at Roundtable"]

[Text] The other day the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Foreign Ministry organized an "Enterprise and Russian Foreign Policy" roundtable for diplomats and Russian entrepreneurs at its headquarters on Staraya Ploshchad. The ministry officials participating were Minister A. Kozyrev, his deputies, and heads of the relevant ministry departments. Russian business circles were well represented: top people from commercial banks, commodity and stock exchanges, major cooperatives and joint ventures. According to Andrey Kozyrev, the roundtable's task was to seek out state and commercial structures' mutual interests in the development of Russian foreign economic activities. The Foreign Ministry has not organized such meetings before, because its prerogative is the protection of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic political interests, but the discussion was interesting.

The Russian foreign minister said that he hoped that enterprise would revive our state, but a real and quick revival is impossible without active and fruitful links with the world economy. But at the moment these contacts are fortuitous, in most cases even risky—which certainly does not help attract serious Western partners. So there is a pressing need for judicious centralized coordination of the efforts of state institutions on the one hand and business circles on the other. Perhaps, in the very near future, there will also be some kind of permanent body with similar functions.

The representatives of Russian business at the roundtable talked about the old problems: the need to ensure that Western investments in our economy remain intact, freedom to take profits out of the country, simplification of procedural matters in foreign contacts, and encouragement, above all, for the development of commercial structures. Most important of all, it was proposed that all Western economic aid for Russia be placed under the control of commercial banks, which would not allow it to be squandered aimlessly.

Rutskoy Discusses Plans for National Guard

LD1310095491 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—The strength of the Russian National Guard will reach 3,000 in a year. In two years we shall bring this figure to 10,000 and later, along with the reduction of budget deficit, to 66,000, Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy told the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY weekly. He said that the first training centre of the Russian National Guard would be created in the town of Balashikha, on the basis of the Dzerzhinsky division.

"We shall form National Guard units in regions and districts. Gradually we shall create the whole National Guard system in Russia with minimal expenditures," Rutskoy said.

Responding to the question on who can join the National Guard, the vice president said that recruiting would be made on a competitive basis from among people who served in the Army and have some experience and knowledge in the field. Would-be national guards will have to meet 12 requirements, including height and physical preparedness. The recruiting campaign will begin after the adoption of the law on National Guard.

KGB Tries To Improve Image; Meets Public

LD1310153391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] KGB is holding a series of meetings with the population in order to improve the organization's image. Sergey Bogdanov, deputy chief of the public relations department for the RSFSR KGB Directorate for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, spoke at the journalism faculty of Moscow State University. He said it was possible that the KGB would be renamed into an federal security agency and added that KGB Chief Vadim Bakatin, and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, assured security officers that there would be no mass purges in this department. According to Bogdanov, 32 KGB employees have been accused of direct or indirect collaboration with the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Five people are under inquest. According to Bogdanov, during the putsch Moscow security officers rendered harmless two bandid groups, liquidated a criminal channel of supplying weapons from the Baltics, and neutralized three explosive devices on trains. Speaking about the criminal situation in the country, Sergey Bogdanov said that in 1990 and in the first half of 1991, 270 terrorist explosions took place in the country, in which 217 people died. Over this period the KGB rendered harmless 29 bandid formations and confiscated smuggling amounting to more than 90 million dollars.

Local Affairs

Chechen-Ingush Situation Continues To Worsen

Gorbachev, Rutskoy Discuss Events

LD1610184291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1745 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russia's vice president, had a long telephone conversation with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. As far as we know they talked about the situation in Chechen-Ingush. Details are not known. At the same time we know that Dzhokhar Dudayev, chairman of the executive committee of the pan-National Congress of the Chechen People, called upon the Chechen-Ingush population to start war preparations; 62,000 people have joined the ranks of home guard and National Guard so far. Dudayev said that he had little confidence in the delegation of the Russian parliament.

Delegation Works for Peace

LD1310132291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0555 GMT 12 Oct 91

[By correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 12 Oct (TASS)—A special group of Russian parliament deputies, sent to monitor events and to help normalize the sharply exacerbated Chechen-Ingush situation, worked intensively late into the evening in Groznyy on 11 October. The people's deputies, who arrived exclusively to undertake a peace mission, held meetings with leaders of sociopolitical movements and parties and representatves of labor collectives.

Commenting on the results of the first day of the group's work, Yusup Soslambekov, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chechen Congress, said that the outlines of an agreement had already been sketched out and that the relevant document is being drawn up.

"We do not even have the right to discuss this," he stressed. "We will hold elections to the new parliament and elect a president of Chechen-Ingush, we will adopt republican citizenship, and then let the citizens themselves decide the fate of their state system, including issues to do with membership of the Russian Federation, by means of a referendum."

Temirov Says 'No Common Ground'

OW1410185491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the delegation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet that is currently in the city of Groznyy, Chechen-Ingushetia, Mr. Umar Temirov said that no common ground had yet been found between the contestants.

He said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] in Groznyy that the delegation plans to develop a normal political and legal environment to hold elections for republican parliament.

Temirov denied rumours that the delegation had reached an agreement with the Executive Committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People. "For the time being, we are only searching for approaches to such an agreement," said Mr. Temirov. According to him, the following issues remain outstanding: the deblocking of the "national guards," the surrender of weapons and the deblocking of the republican TV and radio.

Talks Proceeding 'With Difficulty'

OW1610164791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1450 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Yuriy Luchinskiy, a member of the delegation of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet which is currently in Groznyy (Chechen-Ingushetia), said that "the talks proceeded with difficulty." He added, however, that a great deal had been done to draw the positions of the conflicting parties—the republic's Provisional Supreme Council and the Executive Committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People—closer together.

Speaking on TV on October 15, Mr. Luchinskiy said that there were three ways of settling the situation in the republic. The first one was to hold parliamentary and presidential elections on October 27; the second one was to urgently convene a congress of the peoples of Chechen-Ingushetia and, subsequently, to set up a collective government body (this variant was proposed by the delegation of the Russian Federation's parliament); and the third one was to hold parliamentary elections alone, on November 17, as planned earlier.

Crisis Termed 'Unpredictable'

LD1610164191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] I begin with the situation in Chechen-Ingush. Anatoliy Anikeyev, first deputy Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] minister of internal affairs, who is in Groznyy, appraised the situation there as complicated and unpredictable. In an interview with TASS he stated that the power crisis that arose here two months ago as a result of the actions of forces that rose up against the previous leadership was not only not overcome, but, on the contrary, is getting worse. The opposition between those who support and those who are against the Executive Committee of the All-National Congress of the Chechen People intensifies with each passing day. The National Guard continues to blockade the radio and TV studios and a number of other administrative buildings. A rally is continuously held in the center of Groznyy in support of the national movement leaders. The executive committee refuses to disband the armed formations of national guardsmen and volunteers.

During a clash between militia and the National Guard which took place near the Groznyy press house yesterday evening, an employee of a rayon internal affairs department sustained gunshot wounds. Thanks to vigorous and skillful action by militia employees and especially by Musa Kumarov, chief of the Groznyy rural internal affairs section who personally detained the rifleman, it was possible to extinguish the conflict. However, what will this armed confrontation bring about tomorrow? It is difficult to say.

Vakha Ibragimov, acting Chechen-Ingush minister of internal affairs, who has been appointed by the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, has had a meeting with Dzakhar Dudayev, the national movement leader. The executive committee of the Chechen congress does not, as yet, recognize his status—but hope has arisen that these two men, who are the only ones to wield real power in the republic now, will manage to find compromises to alleviate the situation.

The disturbances at the Chechen-Ingush Ministry of Internal Affairs prison, which broke out a week ago, continue. As a result of talks, it was found possible to evacuate several young people from the prison.

Dudayev's TV address yesterday confused the already alarmed inhabitants of the republic even more. Citing documents he received from scientists, he stated that a very strong earthquake is expected in Chechen-Ingush within a month and he called on his fellow countrymen to be ready for yet another disaster.

Chechen Citizens' Passports Stamped

LD1610211591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Report by N. Shebalkova; from the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] For the second week a group of deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation continue their work. They have a peace-making mission—the search for ways toward unity and accord. Unfortunately, they have not managed to find any constructive solutions.

In the meantime, the Executive Committee of the Congress of the Chechen People is strengthening its positions. Though a law on citizenship has not yet been adopted, the right to choose citizenship has already been granted to Chechen residents. Their passports will not carry a special mark under their signature. The Executive Committee manufactured 400 stamps for the purpose, and today, representatives of town and village soviets of people's deputies signed for them. All those who came to the Executive Committee with their passports have already had them stamped. Now they are citizens not of Checheno-Ingushetia, but of the Chechen republic.

The groundwork for the elections of the president and the parliament of the Chechen republic is in full swing. They are due to be held on 27 October. Nomination of candidates has just been completed, and their registration started. There are 10 contenders for the post of president. Representatives of different parties, movements and public organizations are among them; they are all Chechens. Among the candidates for deputies to the Supreme Soviet are also representatives of other nationalities. Only a few days are left until the elections.

The temporary Supreme Soviet is not taking part in the preparations. It intends to hold similar elections on 17

November. It is difficult to say what this will achieve, but one thing is clear: Such confrontation cannot lead to stabilization of the situation.

General: Prepare for War

OW1610140591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People, ex-General Dzhikhar Dudayev, called on the population of the Chechen-Ingush republic to prepare for war.

"Obviously, war is inevitable," he said on October 15 over republican radio. "Around the republic, particularly in Dagestan and North Ossetia, there are troops which are ready to attack our republic and strangle our revolution."

Mr. Dudayev said that 62,000 people had signed up to the popular regiments and the National Guard, and read out the appeal of Chechen women who had blessed men to their "sacred struggle".

He also said that he had scientists' reports warning against a forthcoming destructive earthquake in the republic. He said earthquakes sometimes occured in places where sociopolitical tensions were particularly sharp and referred to Georgia and Armenia as an example. Dudayev said that an earthquake could be provoked deliberately, hinting that this was a way Russia was putting pressure on the Chechen-Ingush republic.

General Dudayev proposed calling the Chechens and in Ingushes "Vainakhs". [sentence as received].

He said he did not trust the delegation of the Russian Federation's parliament which is currently in Groznyy. Speaking about this delegation and the previous "visitors" (Ruslan Khasbulatov, Gennady Burbulis and Alexander Rutskoy—INTERFAX), he said that they "speak smoothly but act badly" and that each of their visits aggravated the situation in the republic.

N. Ossetian Minister Blames Conflict on Mafia

OW1210182491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in North Ossetia remains explosive. The republic's Interior Minister Georgiy Kantemirov said, however, that the law-enforcement bodies fully controlled the situation. He also said that the organization of self-defence detachments was unnecessary and that confrontation between Ingushetia and Ossetia was instigated by the mafia in the republics. Georgiy Kantemirov rules out the possibility of an armed attack by the Ingushis who have recently laid claims on a suburban region in North Ossetia and on a part of Vladikavkaz.

Deputies Try To 'Compromise' Appointees

PM1410152191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Oct 91 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Yermakov "Rejoinder": "Angel Incarnate"]

[Text] Kemerovo—On opening the latest issue of the oblast newspaper KUZBASS, I almost wept with emotion. A group of deputies has sent an open letter "To Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Comrade B.N. Yeltsin." All the time I have lived and worked in the Kuzbass I had been unaware how "humane" Oblast Soviet Chairman A.M. Tuleyev was or how shifty and two-faced in the role of chief of the administration of the region was M.V. Kisluk, appointed by decree of the president.

The former "religiously carried out the decisions of the Russian authorities" and fought tooth and nail to get "help and consideration for the underprivileged, large families, women, old people, and children." The latter has sown dissension in society. With hypocrisy and undue familiarity, the newspaper denounces the fact that neither Boris Nikolayevich nor any member of his team discerned in Kislyuk a natural enemy of the people. They are also alleged to have made a radical mistake over Anatoliy Malykhin, their representative in the region, forgetting all of a sudden that Kislyuk and Malykhin defended the White House with weapon in hand during the putsch while Tuleyev went off to consult with Yanayev after the Russian president's appeal.

It is too early, I think, to judge the professional qualities of the new appointees in the Kuzbass. But these are necessary appointments. During the eight months of Tuleyev's rule in the Kuzbass people were unable to feed or clothe themselves better. Rather the contrary. Only time will tell what the new head of excecutive power, one of the architects of the concept of a free enterprise zone (I mean Mikhail Kislyuk), will offer. Personally, however, I do not think that it will be worse. But again that is not the issue. The deputies who signed the "open letter" to the president and those behind them pursue a different goal—to compromise in the eyes of our state's leadership the people it appointed.

Foreign Ministry Branch To Open in Khabarovsk

OW1610000891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1915 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation will soon have a branch in Khabarovsk. IF [INTERFAX] has been informed at the foreign relations department of the Khabarovsk Territorial Executive Committee that, among other things, the branch will provide exit visas

and other documents for those going abroad. So far, people living in the Far East have had to come to Moscow to get documents of this kind.

The branch will also maintain contacts with foreign embassies' consulate departments in this part of the country. Its main task, however, will be to assist the promotion of Russia's foreign policy in Eastern Asia and the Pacific.

Yeltsin Appoints Maritime Kray Administrator

LD1510193291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, has appointed Vladimir Kuznetsov, Maritime Kray Executive Committee chairman, as head of administration in the Maritime Kray.

Moscow Deputy Mayor on Residence Restrictions

PM1610131191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Belikov: "Capital's Government Not Going To Rescind Residence Permit"]

[Text] Your correspondent asked Yu. Luzhkov, deputy mayor of Moscow and premier of the capital's government, to answer a few questions regarding the ruling of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee that the so-called residential permit procedure is invalid.

[Belikov] As people will know, the Constitutional Oversight Committee ruling affects only unionwide legislation. How will things stand with the residence permit in Moscow?

[Luzhkov] Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] laws, to which no changes whatever regarding the existing registration rules have been made so far, have enjoyed precedence in the capital for more than a year now. In view of the exceptional nature of the situation in the city, which performs the functions of a dual capital—of the USSR and Russia—the city government considers that this complex issue should be resolved in a Law on the Status of Moscow as Capital of the RSFSR. The draft of such a document is on the agenda of the current session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

[Belikov] Given the great social attractiveness of life in Moscow, what might be the consequences if everyone who wanted to come and live permanently in the capital had the unrestricted opportunity to do so?

[Luzhkov] The consequences would be highly unpredictable with regard to both worsening the already critical housing situation in Moscow (there are now around 800,000 on the housing waiting list in the city) and the unceasing food "blockade" whereby the regions and oblasts systematically disrupt food supplies to the capital. Where are the new "would-be Muscovites" to be housed, and what are they to eat as the bleak winter approaches? The task of the mayor and government of the city is to protect Muscovites' interests and not to make—without serious preparatory work—decisions which mechanically transfer the practice of other countries to our very difficult, highly specific conditions.

I wish to state with the utmost responsibility that Moscow, into which 2-2.5 million people already come daily, will in no way accept additional masses of "capital visitors," the majority of whom, as experience shows, will subsequently want to remain permanently in this overcrowded city. The government will not, therefore, be making any changes at all to the system of compulsory registration in Moscow until it has carried out a serious, comprehensive analysis of the question and consulted with Muscovites.

Rayon Leaders Warn of Moscow 'Chaos'

PM1610134791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with V. Siluyanov, chairman of the Khoroshevskiy Rayon Soviet, by Yu. Makhrin; place and date not given: "Not a Petition—A Cri de Coeur"]

[Text] On 10 October there was a meeting between USSR President M. Gorbachev and the chairmen of 24 Moscow City rayon soviets. The initiators of this conversation were A. Krasnov and S. Pykhtin, chairmen of the Krasnopresnenskiy and Cheremushkinskiy Rayon Soviets. What was the discussion at the Kremlin about? Our correspondent asked V. Siluyanov, chairman of the Khoroshevskiy Rayon Soviet, to talk about it.

[Makhrin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, first, why were there 24 chairmen at the meeting and not 33—the number of rayons in the capital?

[Siluyanov] Some are on vacation or away on business... It was concern for the state of affairs in Moscow that brought us to see the president. Aleksandr Krasnov expressed our common concern succinctly: The mayor and the structures created by him are operating in a completely uncontrolled atmosphere and have trampled the representative and judicial powers underfoot. In the few months that City Hall has existed, the Moscow Prosecutor's Office has registered 26 cases of violation of the laws and sent protests and submissions on gross violations of legality. Unfortunately there has been no reaction.

But there has been a reaction. City Hall sent a petition to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] general prosecutor asking for the capital's prosecutor to be replaced...

Some violations were sanctioned by a decree of Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Decree No. 96 appeared at the beginning of August—on the authority of

the organs of executive power in Moscow city. The decree gave broad powers to City Hall, which was even in violation of the recently adopted Law on Local Self-Management in the RSFSR. This relates to the formation of executive organs, the disposal of property and land, the establishment of tax benefits, and the formation of the budget. And so forth. Even though under the Constitution and laws of Russia this all falls under the competence of the Soviets.

[Makhrin] But how do the City Hall leaders, who won the elections under the banner of democracy and the rule-of-law state, justify the violation of the rule of law?

[Siluyanov] Revolutionary necessity. In all responsible posts there have to be people who are ideologically like-minded regardless of the level of their professional training and competence. Just yesterday these people were advocating the departyization of the law enforcement organs, yet today City Hall has appointed to head the Moscow City Internal Affairs Main Administration a member of the Democratic Russia Coordinating Council. All this is reminiscent of the events of 1917, so I can say that we are faced with neo-Bolshevism.

I told Gorbachev that the main task of the ideologues behind the transformations in the capital—the creation of City Hall and 10 prefectures and either 123 or 133 municipal districts—is to secure the right to run their city's property without being controlled—property which is assessed at many tens of billions of rubles, and land... The Moscow reorganization experiment began under the slogan of taking the organs of power closer to the people, but what we are actually seeing is its centralization.

What is so terrible about centralization? Well, these monopolistic structures acquire even greater power. In other words, whereas before the population could influence these monopolistic structures as organs of representative power, now those structures are getting completely out of control. Completely!

I think that one of the reasons why all these changes were launched in the capital was to get rid of the organs of representative power hindering the executive organs from doing whatever they want.

Is it necessary to declare war on City Hall? No, that is not the solution. I support the democratic path. Is the law imperfect? Please, esteemed City Hall, put the question in legislative form. After all, neither the party apparatus nor the center, which effectively do not exist, is preventing that now. But do not spurn the law.

[Makhrin] What was the result of this meeting?

[Siluyanov] The president said: I understand the concern of the rayon soviet chairmen at the state of affairs in connection with the reorganization of power that is taking place in Moscow.

[Makhrin] Does he consider it justified?

[Siluyanov] No, he did not say that. He said something else: I hope that you have no doubt that changes in the capital are necessary. We replied: Yes, they are necessary. The question is—what changes, for the sake of what, and how are they to be carried out? If it is to be the way that City Hall is now operating, then the situation in Moscow will soon go out of control and chaos will reign.

Moscow Democratic Russia Holds Conference

LD1310091791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 12 Oct 91

[By correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct (TASS)—"Democratic Russia" remains the only strong organization capable of resisting feeble impulses against the fledgeling Russian democracy, stated Gleb Yakunin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy and cochairman of the coordinating council of this public movement. He was speaking at the second conference of the Moscow city organization of "Democratic Russia" which opened today and which set the goal of completing its legalization within the framework of the all-Russian movement which started this summer. Gleb Yakunin spoke, in particular, about several ambitious moves by the apparat of the RSFSR president and the Moscow city administration, who in his view, are obstructing the development of the democratic process.

Another speaker went even further. He accused Nikolay Travkin, the leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, who had spoken earlier, with calls to salvage all that was best out of the experience of the CPSU, accusing them of leading the "Democratic Russia" movement toward a split. It is, therefore, not by chance that after this, an appeal was heard from a coalition of several parties, including the democratic and social-democratic parties, which contained a refusal to participate in the conference which is due to open and stating their intention to form their own bloc.

Rostov Leaders Removed for Support of Coup

PM1510140191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Ogurtsov: "From Defense to Attack"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—During the first half of the Rostov Oblast Soviet session, the entire soviet presidium was collectively fired and it was placed on record that for their—to put it mildly—very strange "neutrality" during the putsch, the oblast leaders were relieved of their duties by Moscow.

However, the nomenklatura old guard, to which most people still belong, used the protracted recess in the session's work to rehabilitate Leonid Ivanchenko, the former soviet chairman.

At the session, after the recess, the oblast soviet commission for legislation proposed deeming that the formula used in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution with regard to Comrade Ivanchenko did not correspond to reality. The commission was even more categorical in its proposed draft decision: "The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium did not deem it expedient to take account of the opinion of the session of people's deputies elected by the Don's population of 4 million... Comrade Ivanchenko's dismissal from his position shall be deemed illegal and his powers as chairman of the oblast soviet shall be reaffirmed..."

We do not know how the vote on this point would have gone had the deputies from the democratic wing not walked out of the session hall, thereby leaving the session without a quorum.

St. Petersburg Galas To Honor Name Restoral

LD1210150891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] The 7 November celebrations in St. Petersburg will not be the same as they were in Leningrad. This year, for the first time in 74 years, the city's evening newspaper reports, we shall not be glorifying the party, the people, and the government. As proposed by the mayor, it has been decided to replace the celebrations to mark the latest anniversary of the October Revolution with a festival in honor of the return to the city of its historic name.

St. Petersburg Soviet Abolishes Sobchak Decree

LD1210163491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1557 GMT 11 Oct 91

[By correspondents Lyudmila Fomicheva and Anna Shcherbakova]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 11 Oct—Buildings which the Mayor's Office has allocated for the pruposes of small enterprises, cooperatives, and organizations are to be returned to the city. This transpires from the decision on the abolition of orders given by the mayor of St. Petersburg made by the 11th session of the city soviet today. The thing is that the soviet is the only body which can allocate nonresidential stock buildings for various purposes. In other cases leases for them can only be auctioned or competed for. The confrontation between the Mayor's Office and the soviet has become especially evident during the discussion of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic draft law "On the Status of St. Petersburg," in which the city is regarded as a Russian Federation subject enjoying equal rights. Anatoliy Sobchak, the city's mayor, thinks that such a legislative initiative is untimely because it will deepen Russia's disintegration. In the deputies' opinion, the adoption of the status law will become one of the steps along the path of creating a free economic zone.

'Reactionary Forces' Said To Rule in Smolensk

PM1710093091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Oct 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from RIA-TASS column: "Same People Still in Power"]

[Text] In Smolensk, the second conference of the oblast organization of the "Democratic Russia" movement has ended; among the delegates were representatives of the Republican, Democratic, and Free Democratic Parties. It was noted at the conference that reactionary forces are still in power in the oblast, delaying the implementation of economic and political reforms. An appeal was adopted to B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, speaking of the need for more resolute radical reforms.

Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Session Continues

Independence Issue Added to Agenda

OW1610165491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1450 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan, whose session opened in Kazan on Tuesday [16 October], are reported to have included the question of republican independence in the agenda.

Originally the session was going to discuss future republican laws on property, privatisation and a number of other important bills. However, from the outset there emerged a serious confrontation between Tatarstan's nationalist parties and movements, on the one hand, and the Democratic Party of Russia and the organization calling itself "Narodovlastiye" (Popular Government), on the other.

Supreme Soviet members from the "Suverenitet" (Sovereignty) Committee, the Tatar Public Centre (TPC) and the "Ittifak" requested including in the agenda of the session the question of Tatarstan's state independence. A rally in front of the parliament's building has pressed for the same demands.

The rally was called by the Nationalist Movement of Tatarstan. At noon the demonstrators tried to storm a police cordon to get to the parliament's building. Four police, one serviceman from the Interior Ministry troops and three civilians received bodily injuries.

The "Narodovlastiye" group requested that the square be cleared of demonstrators saying that they put pressure on the lawmakers.

After two rounds of voting the question of Tatarstan's independence was included in the session's agenda.

The rally has continued today, October 16. The demonstrators demand the declaration of Tatarstan's independence. Many of them carry slogans saying: "The partitioning of Russia is inevitable" and "Down with the last empire."

Deputies Propose Break

LD1610190291 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, Tatarstan, October 16 TASS—The Tatar Supreme Soviet today interrupted its session, which opened here on Tuesday [16 October], because of yesterday's clashes between demonstrators and the police in front of the parliament building on the Svoboda Square in Kazan.

Five policemen were wounded in clashes.

The riots followed the parliament's decision, adopted by the majority of votes, to reject the proposal of some deputies to include the adoption of an act on state independence of the republic on the session's agenda. Tatarstan is now a part of Russia.

Rally participants, favoring the state independence of the republic, were annoyed by this fact and tried to burst into the parliament building, which resulted in clashes with the police.

Today a group of deputies from the Tatar Supreme Soviet put forward a proposal to make a break in the session, until the situation in the city is stabilized. The discussion resulted in the decision to abstain for a while from plenary meetings of the Supreme Soviet, but to continue to work in commissions and committees.

The rally goes on in front of the parliament building.

National Democratic Bloc Opposes President

OW1510041391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2020 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tatar Public Center, the Sovereignty Committee, the Mariani Cultural Society and a number of other organisations within the National Democratic Bloc decided they were beginning a campaign to force the republican president Mintimer Shaymiev to resign. The center's statement accused the authorities of ignoring the constructive proposals that the bloc has moved on September 5, 1991.

On that date the bloc suggested holding a roundtable of Tatarstan's all political forces to work out a common platform to rally round President Shaymiev.

The bloc announced "ending all support of the current authorities in the republic."

PRAVDA Views Formation of Tatar Militia

PM1610140191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by correspondent N. Morozov under the rubric "Regional View": "Tatarstan: People's Militia Being Set Up"]

[Text] Kazan—There have been brief reports from the editorial office teletypewriter. INTERFAX reported:

"In Kazan, Nizhnekamsk, and Chistopol (Tataria) there have been authorized rallies dedicated to the memory of those who fell in the struggle against the troops of Ivan the Terrible, czar of Muscovy, in the 16th century. Speakers called for the complete independence of Tatarstan, a refusal to serve in the Soviet Army, and the creation of a national guard...

"The seventh session of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet began in Kazan yesterday. There are 15 items on its agenda, including amendments to the republic's Constitution, the report of the Cabinet of Ministers, the design of the state symbols, and the draft law on the referendum. From unofficial sources it has become known that some deputies are ready to raise the question of Tatarstan's complete independence..."

Nikolay Morozov, the newspaper's own correspondent in the Republic of Tatarstan, has also sent his commentary in to the editorial office. The current situation in the republic is arousing great alarm. So, is another "trouble spot" developing in our country?

Against Whom Are We Taking Up Arms?

People's militia detachments are being registered in Kazan and Naberezhnyye Chelny. Volunteers are standing under the banner of the All-Union Tatar Public Center—that is where the headquarters of the militia, led by reserve Colonel R. Safin, are housed.

But what danger has prompted the movement's organizers to issue a war cry? After all, it is acknowledged both officially and among the people that the republic's authorities are managing to keep the situation from reaching the point of explosion...

This question was answered in an interview for SOVETSKAYA TATARIYA [Soviet Tataria] by R. Nurgaliyev, administrator of affairs of the Tatar Public Center. "In our opinion," he said, "the specter of repressions against democratization and, in particular, against Tatarstan's emerging sovereignty has clearly appeared in the country..."

The spokesman for the center said that the main task of the people's militia is to form the basis and elaborate the structure of the future national guard. Such subunits, he believes, are necessary to support Tatarstan's sovereignty, "thwart any provocations by the supporters of imperial ambitions, protect major institutions, and so

forth." The militia's tasks include the struggle against crime—in collaboration with law enforcement agencies.

Outwardly, these are noble intentions. However, the people, in whose name the militia is being formed, are unclear about many points. Where, at which congress [kurultay] or other lofty meeting was it decided to start training formations with the help of military specialists? R. Nurgaliyev answered this main question in these terms: "During the picketing by representatives of various social organizations of the building where the recent session of the republic's Supreme Soviet was held, a group of pickets issued a call and decided to form their own people's militia. That was when the registration of volunteers began..."

After such an explanation, many inhabitants of Tatarstan understandably began to doubt the truly popular nature of the movement that has been launched. Its leaders allude to cooperation with law enforcement organs. But why then were they confronted by the fait accompli of the creation of a militia which in practice can engage in the protection of public order according to its own rules—the kind of order which suits the movement's sponsors?

"Any military formations, and the people's militia or national guard undoubtedly belong to this category, can be created only on the basis of an appropriate decision by the Tatarstan Republic Supreme Soviet or by decree of the Tatar SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] president"—that is the opinion on this score of R. Khafizov, chairman of the Tatar SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Legislation, Legality, Law and Order, and Privileges.

Neither the parliament nor the president has adopted such a decision. It came about spontaneously in the euphoria of a rally and was not subject to legality or the observance of civilized law and order. This was needed by certain social forces which, in the struggle for sovereignty, which is supported generally by all healthy forces in Tatarstan, are trying to speculatively play the national card. It is appopriate to say that some parties and movements are not hiding their desire to stratify and cause quarrels among the people of the republic, where true rather than artificially maintained well-being in interethnic relations used to reign and where in virtually one family in two there are mixed marriages.

In a recent TV dialogue on ways of implementing Tatarstan [as published], F. Zaynullina, a representative of "Ittifak" (the Tatar national independence party) who advocates territorial claims against Russia, stated: "Nationalism is love for your people, nationalists are patriots of their people."

The term "occupation," which was initiated by Ivan the Terrible, was heard more than once in this television broadcast. Is it not to combat that occupation that the militia is being formed now?

I deliberately omit the word "people's." The people simply have no need to flex their muscles. Neither the Tatar people nor the Russian people. For many years there has been room for them under the same sky and on the same land. They also had enough human wisdom to live in peace and harmony.

International Affairs

Yeltsin Appoints Armenia, Azerbaijan Observers

OW1610135091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has appointed the Russian Federation's observers who will inspect the implementation of the agreements between Azerbaijan and Armenia, involving Karabakh representatives, figuring in the joint communique signed in Zheleznovodsk on September 23. The group consists of 7 members and is led by chairman of a sub-committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign-Economic Relations, Mr. Yevgeniy Kozhokin.

Boris Yeltsin has instructed the group of observers to establish contacts with a similar group from Kazakhstan, propose variants on a gradual settlement of the Azerbaiiani-Armenian conflict and fly to Yerevan and Baku to coordinate the positions of the parties concerned.

By agreement with the negotiating parties, the Russian Federation's observers will have the right to invite representatives and experts of the UN and other international organizations. The observers' safety in the zone of the conflict will be ensured by the USSR interior and defence ministries which will also provide them with means of communication and transportation.

The group is financed by the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation and its work will be coordinated by the Russian Federation's State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis.

Boris Yeltsin has instructed the Russian Federation's Ministry of the Press and Mass Media to set up a group for providing official information about the events in the zone of the conflict and about the talks.

Estonia May Lay Territorial Claims to Russia

OW1710040191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president's representative in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) and the St. Petersburg Region

Yuriy Yarov declared that Russia should abstain from any negotiations with Estonia to redraw the border between the two republics.

Today Estonia can lay claim to the territory it ceded to Leningrad and Pskov Regions in 1945 by decision of the then Soviet leadership. Renouncing all territorial claims to Russia in early 1991, Estonia agreed in a bilateral treaty that the Russo-Estonian border was inviolable. However, following the failure of the coup attempt in August 1991, the Estonian parliament's presidium deleted all documents renouncing either side's territorial claim to the other.

Yeltsin Receives U.S. Firm's Help in Campaign

LD1310134991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0725 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct (TASS)—Five specialists from the private U.S. firm "Committee for Free Congress," which provides consultative services to candidates, participated in Russian President Boris Yeltsin's election campaign. They did not work for nothing; they were paid not by the Yeltsin support committee but by someone back home, in the United States, the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY weekly writes in a column headlined: "Unofficially About the Official."

Specialists explain Boris Nikolayevich's abstention from television debates as due precisely to their recommendations. Experience gathered from overseas elections shows that the popularity rating of the leading contender remains at its previous level at best after a debate but usually falls sharply.

Japanese on Aid Prospects in Soviet Far East

PM1710091091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Oct 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Sergey Ponomarev: "Foreign Countries Are Ready To Help. But Not To Help Just Anyone..."]

[Text] Khabarovsk—"You cannot say that we have absolutely nothing to eat, but there is really a food shortage, and in winter the food situation will obviously deteriorate"—that view was put forward at a Japanese Government delegation's meeting with journalists in Khabarovsk. Prior to this, the large group of experts headed by Ambassador Tanaka had spent 10 days studying the needs of the Far East, Yakutia, and the Transbaykal for humanitarian aid, which the Land of the Rising Sun, along with other members of G-7, has expressed readiness to provide.

In the Japanese side's assessment, the food shortage over the next seven to eight months will amount to a total of $100-150 million for each oblast and kray, and this refers mainly to grain, groats, and meat and dairy products. The supply of medicines and medical equipment, especially for maternity homes and hospitals' surgical departments, is already only at half the minimum level required in the region.

"This situation, as we understand it, is caused not only by the reduction in centralized deliveries, including those from the countries of the former 'socialist community,' but also by the one-sided structure of the Soviet Far East's economy, which is oriented primarily toward defense needs. The consequences of the summer floods and monsoon rains also play a part," Mr. Tanaka believes. As for the specific timing and especially the volume of aid, in the ambassador's opinion it is too soon to talk about this. A decision on this point can only be adopted by the Japanese Government after studying the report that the delegation will submit.

Its leader made it clear, however, that the scale of deliveries will be determined on the basis of the Japanese Government's "internal financial potential," and that too much should not be expected. It is better to rely on the region's own forces and resources, the delegation members hinted. In this respect the reference to Sakhalin's experience, where the intensive development of private farming is making it possible rapidly to boost the production of agricultural products, is characteristic.

Another important aspect which was also discussed at the meeting is the mechanism for monitoring the distribution of aid. This problem is of concern to the Japanese side, as was indicated by the presence in the delegation of experts who attempted to trace the fate of food and medical supplies worth a billion yen that were sent to the Far East this summer through the Japanese Red Cross.

"Their distribution is not proceeding in the same way everywhere—it is better in some places, worse in others," Mr. Tanaka put it diplomatically. By all appearances, what he is referring to is the fact that despite the outwardly well-organized system of accounting and monitoring, some of the charity goods are stolen, and subsequently appear on the black market at fabulous prices. And what does reach the proper recipients is sometimes not appropriate to their real needs.

"Humanitarian aid must go to specific destinations for very specific purposes"—that wish was expressed by the Soviet participants in the meeting. Some destinations were named. In particular, mention was made of special-purpose programs for the treatment of childhood leukemia and oncological diseases, the setting up of a specialized burns center on Sakhalin, and the provision of modern diagnostic and surgical equipment for Khabarovsk cardiologists who have developed original methods for open-heart operations.

Dispute Continues With Japan Over Kurils

Kozyrev Proposes Meeting

OW1610145791 Tokyo KYODO in English 1444 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 16 KYODO—Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev proposed Wednesday [16 October] holding the first meeting of a subcommittee on the Soviet-Japanese territorial dispute in December or early next year, a Japanese official said.

Kozyrev made the proposal in the second round of talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama, who is in the Soviet Union on a weeklong visit for talks with Kremlin and Russian leaders to discuss four Soviet-held islands off northeastern Hokkaido, according to the official traveling with Nakayama.

In welcoming the proposal as being constructive, Nakayama was quoted as telling Kozyrev that Japan will give a formal answer after studying it.

On Monday [14 October], Nakayama and Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin agreed to set up the subcommittee under a group that is working on facilitating peace treaty negotiations between the two countries.

Settling the territorial dispute is the Japanese precondition for concluding a peace treaty and giving massive economic assistance to the Soviet Union.

Referring to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's five-stage plan for resolving the dispute, Nakayama urged Kozyrev to make efforts toward an early conclusion of the treaty, including settlement of the territorial issue.

Yeltsin revealed his plan, under which the two nations would be gradually handle the issue over the next two decades, when he visited Tokyo in January last year.

The Russian Federation, the Soviet Union's largest republic, has jurisdiction over the islands—Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan, and the Habomai group.

Under Yeltsin's plan, the final solution to the problem would be left to future generations of the Soviet and Japanese people. In the talks with Nakayama on Tuesday [15 October], Yeltsin pledged to speed up the process of settling the problem.

Nakayama was quoted as telling Kozyrev that under the plan, sovereignty over the four islands will remain vague.

Responding to Nakayama's criticism of Yeltsin's step-by-step approach, Kozyrev argued the plan pays due consideration to the many complicated aspects of the issue, the officials said.

Nakayama also pointed to the need for joint efforts to deal with practical problems expected to stem from the process of resolving the dispute.

His remarks were taken as referring to the legal status of the Soviet residents on the islands if the territories are returned to Japan.

Baburin Views Islands' Fate

OW1710085791 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1030 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Report by V. Korotkikh; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The problem of the Kuril Islands is being discussed from all angles at the center. Meanwhile, numerous meetings, assemblies, and gatherings are being held on the Kurils themselves. And so, to the point of view of our Sakhalin correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Korotkikh] If we were to clearly define the state of the southern Kurils citizens, then no other word than tension, would be suitable. The people are living in the most tense anticipation of their fate. They are extremely perturbed that their fate is being decided somewhere at the top without the benefit of their opinion, and how is it that they are not being kept informed.

Of course, life on the southern Kurils, even though they are southern, is far from sweet. Numerous social and economic ills are added to the severe climate, but be it known that the Kurilians are not retreating in the face of economic hardships. They are actively working at creating cooperatives, small leased joint-stock enterprises, and are not averse if neighboring Japan assists them in this. These small islands—although, in fact they are not so small—cover an area of 4,500 square kilometers and are bigger than some oblasts in central Russia. So, the South Kurilians will presently contribute 2 billion rubles worth of fish and food products to the country. That is nearly as much as Kamchatka, the fish shop of the country.

The Kurilians think that primarily, talks should be about the revival of the islands, and incidentally, this is not only our impression.

[Baburin] Having now visited this remote edge of Russia, we are convinced that the problem of the Northern Territories does not exist. There exists only the problem of the Kuril Islands. It consists of their economic, social, and cultural revival, primarily with the efforts of Russia and the Kurilians themselves. [end recording]

Fishermen Oppose Return

OW1610192191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] If the southern Kuril Islands are handed over to Japan, the members of the fishermen's cooperative

Druzhba, the Sakhalin Region, are going to sink their boats in their traditional fishing grounds off the Kuril Island chain's southern tip. INTERFAX reports that the decision of their meeting held with all their families has been sent to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin and the head of the Sakhalin administration Valentin Feodorov.

The fishermen made known to Yeltsin and Feodorov their resolute protest against "profligate attitude towards Russia's lands."

Yeltsin Mediates To End Yugoslav Conflict

Receives Serbia's Milosevic

LD1610121391 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin received Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in his residence in the Kremlin at midday today. The guest is staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev who acts as a mediator in order to stop the bloody conflict in Yugoslavia.

As is known, some six months back the Serbian president was invited by Russian leaders to pay a visit to Moscow. For various reasons the visit was put off. Now the Russian and Serbian presidents met.

Welcoming the guests, Yeltsin said he agrees with the main provisions of arrangements made in Moscow about settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. He was familiarised with these agreements by Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Russian president said that the situation in the USSR and in Yugoslavia is similar. Milosevic agreed with the opinion of the Russian leader.

It is expected that in addition to the exchange of information about the situation in Russia and in Serbia, there will also be discussion of the development of cooperation in various areas.

Upon the conclusion of the conversation with the Serbian leader Yeltsin will receive Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Welcomes Croatia's Tudjman

LD1610122791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1208 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Oct [as received]—A quarter of an hour after his conversation with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Russian President Boris Yeltsin received Franjo Tudjman, the top leader of Croatia, at his residence in the Kremlin today. The two Yugoslav guests are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev, who has undertaken a mediation mission to settle the crisis in Yugoslavia.

Welcoming his guest, Boris Yeltsin said that he supports and shares fully the accords to end the Yugoslav crisis reached by the presidents of the USSR, Serbia, and Croatia. He commented that the problems of that state are close and understandable to Russia with its multi-ethnic population.

As your TASS diplomatic correspondent has learned, Franjo Tudjman will also have a meeting today with Eduard Shevardnadze, president of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association.

German Christian Democratic Union Group Visits

LD1610175391 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krolikov]

[Text] Moscow October 16 TASS—Speaking at a news conference here today, Klaus Franke, member of the German Bundestag, voiced conviction that in Russia there are quite a number of people who seek to maintain the best traditions of the conservative movement through concrete acts.

Franke headed a delegation of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) that paid a return visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Democratic Party of Russia.

This trip became the first visit to Russia by an official CDU delegation. As a result of dialogue with like-minded people, Klaus Franke said, we were able to reach a better understanding of the very complicated processes now occurring in the Soviet Union. I hope, he concluded, that CDU contacts with the parties voicing conservative convictions will develop successfully.

Cuban Opposition Leader Arrives in Moscow

OW1610000991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1915 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the leaders of the Cuban opposition, Cochairman of the Cuban Democratic Platform Carlos Alberto Monpaner, arrived in Moscow on Tuesday [15 October]. He has been invited to come by the Presidium of the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Russia.

IF [INTERFAX] has been informed in the headquarters of the Russian Social Democratic Party that Mr. Monpaner is going to meet Russian statesmen and leaders of some political parties and movements.

Belorussia

Prime Minister on Talks With Poland's Walesa

LD1210034391 Moscow TASS in English 2205 GMT 11 Oct 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Warsaw October 11 TASS—Poland and Belorussia which are so close ethnically and historically are destined to beneficial common future. Polish President Lech Walesa told this to TASS after today's meeting with Chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers Vyacheslav Kebich who was on a two-day official visit in Poland.

A new political situation has formed and we should be able to cope with it, the head of the Polish Government said. He said that at this time of trial there is a need for closer contact. First of all it is necessary to throw wide open the frontiers so that they should not be an obstacle to trips by citizens of both countries. This, in turn, will give green light to business, he said.

Kebich said that the conversation with the Polish president confirmed the correctness of the course at close and broad cooperation adopted by the governments of both countries. As it was already reported, the declaration on the basic principles of goodneighbourly relations and an agreement on trade and economic cooperation were signed in Warsaw on Thursday [10 October]. One of the provisions of the agreement is to open shortly two additional frontier passes .

In the morning members of the Belorussian Government delegation met with representatives of 300 thousand ethnic Belorussians residing in Poland. There was an exchange of opinions about the development of versatile contacts.

On the same day Kebich and his party left for Minsk.

Parliament Discusses Draft Citizenship Law

OW1710004791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [16 October], the Belorussian parliament concentrated on the draft law on citizenship.

According to it, individuals who have been permanently living in Belorussia as of the day the law enters into force, as well as individuals who have been granted Belorussian citizenship in line with this law, shall be considered citizens of the Republic of Belarus.

The citizens of the republic of Belarus have the right to receive the citizenship of another state, the same as citizens of other states may be granted the citizenship of the Republic of Belarus (double citizenship) on the basis of international agreements of the republic.

The document says that all citizens of Belarus have equal rights irrespective of the circumstances of receiving Belorussian citizenship.

Citizens of Belarus cannot be deprived of their citizenship or of the right to change it.

Citizenship of the Republic of Belarus is documented in the passport of the Belorussian citizen, says the draft law. The passport's specimen and the procedure of issuing it shall be determined by the Council of Ministers of the republic.

Moldova

Snegur 10 Oct News Conference Reported

AU1110124991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0934 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 11/10/1991—President Mircea Snegur reiterated on Thursday, October 10, in a news briefing, that the republic's leadership meant to continue steadily on the way of winning full independence, mentioning that there was every political and socio-economic condition in place for the attainment of that purpose, and that what was needed was only a consistent and persevering activity to that end, the MOLDOVA PRES news agency reports. As for the agreement on the economic community of states, the president said, Moldova declared for the signing of the document. Recalling that the parliamentarians of Russia and its vice-president, Rutskoy, abruptly changed their mind, trying to convince the others to sign a treaty of political union, President Snegur pointed out that Moldova did not accept that position, just as it did not accept the fact that the current State Council of the former USSR, as well as some ministries of Russia tried to revive the obsolete central structures. "These political games undermine the economy of all republics that univocally supported in Alma-Ata the idea of establishing an economic community and not a politically unitary state," Mircea Snegur mentioned.

President Snegur added that he was the first to renounce his mandate as people's deputy of the USSR in Moldova's behalf and his example was taken by others as well. However, Moldova's stand on the session due to start on October 21 was not final. "It is not impossible that Moldova's representatives should attend as observers the chambers' proceedings." In that context, he firmly rejected the rumors circulated by some leaders of the former center that Moldova would return to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The president of the Republic of Moldova expressed satisfaction at the steps taken lately for the stabilization of the situation in Transdnestr and in the southern part of the republic. He stressed that there was every reason to consider that the current truce would turn into durable and stable peace in integral and indivisible

Moldova. Also, he told journalists that he planned a trip soon to districts in the southern part of the republic and on the left bank of the Dniester.

Answering a question by DER SPIEGEL correspondent about the future presidential elections, Mircea Snegur stressed that they were necessary for the reiteration of the republic's independence, for the people in the republic to be given the chance to directly elect the president of its independent state. Referring to aspects of foreign policy, including the recognition of Moldova's independence by the world community, President Snegur stressed that the leaders of the republic meant to keep knocking "on the door" of the civilized world, announce its presence, produce its visiting card to the leaders of various states, organize business meetings and talks with them, extend invitations and pay visits.

Snegur: Rutskoy Remarks 'Destructive'

LD1110102391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] At a news conference in Kishinev today, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said that the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic Supreme Soviet's attitude and remarks by some of its leaders— and particularly Rutskoy—about the treaty on economic community are destructive. According to him, some high-ranking members of the Russian Government are raising once more the question of forming a political union before trying to find ways of signing the agreement on economic community. Snegur declared that he is categorically opposed to statements by some Russian leaders that Russia should become the legal successor of the former Union.

Plan for Organizing National Army Reported

OW1710003391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Supreme Security Council has confirmed the general plan for organizing the armed forces of the republic.

Moldovan president, Mircha Snegur, who chairs the Council, says that a national army was needed to protect the republic's independence and territorial integrity.

The plan envisages the return of the Moldovans serving in the Soviet Army to their native republic. The republic's involvement in the military structures of the future union is ruled out.

At a meeting with representatives of the League of Ex-Servicemen, Mr. Snegur said that Romania's military colleges have reserved about 70 scholarships for training Moldovan officers.

Council Discusses Organization

AU1610152291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1437 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] (ROMPRES) 16/10/1991—The Supreme Security Council of the Republic of Moldova met in Chisinau under the chairmanship of President Mircea Snegur to examine questions related to the creation of the national armed forces, the press office of the president of the republic announced.

Gheorghe Mazilu, vice-chairman of the Standing Commission for state security and military affairs of Moldova's Parliament, and Nicolae Chirtoaca, director general of the state department for military affairs, informed the members of the council about the consultations held in Moscow on the initiation of negotiations on difficult aspects concerning the settlement of this question also presenting, in the same context, the concrete situation in the Ukraine, Russia and other former republics of the Soviet Empire.

After an extensive exchange of opinions, the Supreme Security Council endorsed, in broad lines, the organization of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova. This conception excludes the inclusion into a sole military framework of a possible new union and stipulates the return to Moldova, as soon as possible, of all the soldiers and officers serving on foreign (non-Moldovan) territories.

Prime Minister on Dnester Conflict

OW1610135791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Prime Minister, Valeriy Muravskiy, told Belgian TV that among the causes of the conflict in the Dnestr region is the fact that "unlike the leaders of Moldova, the leaders of the Left Bank are Communists and campaign for a poltiical alliance with the former Union".

Mr. Muravskiy confirmed the Moldovan leaders' determination to build a law-based state in which all citizens will have equal rights, whatever their nationality.

Dnestr Social Democratic Party Manifesto Noted

LD1310102191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 11 Oct 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev, 11 Oct (TASS)—The Dnestr Social Democratic Party, as a parliamentary party, is guided in its political activities by social ideals, principles of humanism and social justice, and the interests of integrating the Dnestr economy into the economic union of sovereign states on a basis of equality and mutual

benefit. This was revealed in the Party manifesto published in the press today. The Party is the legal successor to the CPSU organization of this Moldovan region. The document states that the Party stands for a transition to a mixed enonomy based on the diversity and equality of various forms of ownership—state, collective, and private—the execution of a modern agrarian policy which rules out any form of violence in relation to the peasantry, and the establishment of price parity in the exchange of the output of industry and agriculture. It also favors the equal rights and the unrestricted development of individuals of all ethnic groups while making human rights an indisputable priority.

Disagreements Over Financial Policy Arise

OW1510191091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The work of Moldova's Consiliatory Commission, set up to settle the Dnestr problem, is complicated by the sides disagreements over financial issues.

Financial problems and inter-bank conflicts are expected to figure among the main aspects of the commission's work. Its next session was scheduled for October 17.

Head of the Dnestr Supreme Soviet's press service, Valeriy Litskay, told IF [INTERFAX] that a delegation of the Dnestr Republic, led by Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Grigoriy Marakuts, has been sent to Moscow for consultations with the Russian Federation's leaders and deputies who volunteered to mediate in the talks.

Since the Dnestr Republic was proclaimed in September 1990, it has been making attempts to create a banking system of its own. In April 1991, the republic's budget was confirmed and deductions to Moldova were cut short. The Dnestr Republic's debt to Moldova stands at about 600,000 roubles.

On October 7, Moldova's National Bank unilaterally stopped making payments to the Dnestr industrial enterprises for their output to compensate the debt. The leaders of the Dnestr Republic's enterprises responded by interrupting their supplies to Moldova.

Living Standard 'Steadily' Deteriorates

LD1610180191 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev October 16 TASS—The living standards of Moldavan population have been steadily deteriorating in the recent years and fell catastrophycally from April 1991. This was stated at the latest meeting of the Presidium of the Council of Moldovia's Independent Trade Unions Federation.

The main cause of this state of affairs is that there is no state-ensured system of minimum social guarantees for citizens for the period of transfer to a market, when essentials are in short supply and their prices rose several fold. Experts note that the index of retail prices of necessities and payments for services in August 1991 was 216.6 per cent as compared with August of last year. Meanwhile the compensation ensured by the government makes up only 28 per cent of the average monthly wages of factory and office workers in 1990.

TASS learned from reliable sources that rent and payments for services will soon sharply increase. Neither a minimum consumer budget or a mechanism for indexing the population's income or a comprehensive programme for stabilising the republic's economy and overcoming its crisis have been legislatively endorsed. A tax on sales, an exise tax and deductions from wages to the pension fund have been introduced instead.

Minister: West Fears USSR Destabilization

OW1510191691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The West is in no hurry to recognize Moldova and other republics which have proclaimed independence because it is afraid of political, economic and military destabilization, caused by the emergence of new states, said Moldova's Foreign Minister, Mr. Nikolay Tsyu.

Answering TV viewers' questions on Monday, in the live program "Political Dialogues," he said that the republic was still in a state of informational blockade, while the Union media distorted the situation in Moldova.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Cited on Economic Treaty

LD1610176791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The leaders of the Ukraine believe that the treaty of the economic community paves the way into the future. The treaty is expected to be signed by 10 republics in Moscow on Friday.

However, the leader of the Ukrainian Parliament, Leonid Kravchuk, is certain that the treaty will work only if there is a certain degree of order in all the republics that put their signatures to it. He is certain that the business of the legislative bodies is to issue laws; of the government to establish appropriate mechanisms for their enforcement; and, of the labor staffs to keep working on the condition that they have the right to conclude commercial agreements, set prices, and control sales.

Mr. Kravchuk warned that without that industries will come to a standstill and a social explosion will ensue.

Speaking in an interview, Mr. Kravchuk said that relations with Russia were a key element of his republic's policies because the two republics have close economic ties and spiritual and cultural bonds.

Kravchuk Meets With Crimean Deputies

LD1410110491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] A meeting has taken place between Ukranian Supreme Soviet Chairman Kravchuk and a group of deputies from the Crimean Republic. In the course of the constructive dialogue the situation which has taken shape in the Ukraine and in the Crimea was analyzed. It was said that the collapse of the union structures cannot seriously affect economic ties either with Russia or with other republics of the former Soviet Union. They can be both bilateral and multilateral.

Speaking about the state and territorial organization of the Crimea, Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk stressed that the population of the peninsula made its choice during the referendum. There is no need to return to this again: The Crimea is a constituent part of the Ukraine. The head of the Ukrainian parliament said that he would support the Crimeans' intentions to create a free economic zone on the peninsula. The whole package of draft laws which concern carrying out economic reforms in Sevastopol will be examined in the very near future.

Problems of nuclear weapons deployed on the territory of the Ukraine, customs barriers on the border with Russia and other republics, reorganization of the law enforcement agencies, creation of republic armed forces, and other issues were also discussed.

Draft Defense Law Briefing Reported

PM1610145391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Oct 91 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Gorenko report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Draft Laws on Defense—For General Discussion"]

[Text] Kiev—Lieutenant General V. Durdinets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission for Defense and State Security Matters, held a news conference for journalists from republic newspapers in connection with the decision to publish and discuss a comprehensive package of draft laws to do with setting up national Armed Forces. The commission expressed a wish for the press to report on its work as fully as possible and to tell only the truth.

The Ukrainian Defense Ministry newspaper NARODNAYA [as published] ARMIYA [People's Army] published the first extremely important draft law—"On Defense." It highlights the following as the main points of principle in the eventual law: the duties of the Ukrainian president as Armed Forces commander-in-chief; an article on the Ukrainian Defense Council as the supreme governing organ on questions of defense and state security; and an article on the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers' responsibility for guaranteeing the republic's defense capability. The article on the Ukrainian Defense Ministry states in particular that the ministry is to elaborate a draft state program for setting up and developing the Ukrainian Armed Forces; a draft state program for developing arms and military hardware; and proposals regarding budget allocations for defense needs, all of which will be handed to the Ukrainian president for examination.

Lieutenant General V. Durdinets told journalists that the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has not responded to a proposal by the USSR Defense Ministry on the possibility of Ukrainian youths completing their military service on Russian territory. It is the deputy's opinion that such a possibility will not be ruled out provided that contracts are concluded with conscripts on conditions of hire, and, more importantly, that units in the Ukraine are brought up to full strength.

Papers Publish Draft

LD1610173891 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Nikolay Zayka]

[Text] Kiev October 16 TASS—The republican media began to publish draft laws connected with the structure of the national armed forces. The draft laws have been endorsed by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. The newspapers today published one of the most important draft laws, on defences of the Ukraine. It stresses that the Ukraine is striving for peaceful coexistence of all states and maintains its defence potential at a level sufficient for defence against agression.

Of fundamental importance are articles of the future law on the obligations of the Ukrainian president as commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, on the Defence Council, the Defence Ministry, and the martial law.

The article on territorial defence says its purpose is to protect state borders, the sea coast, insular zones, important facilities and communications. Units of the republican guard will be entrusted with territorial defence in peacetime. They will interact with units of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Chernovil Quizzed on Independence Issue

PM1610091191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with V.M. Chornovil [Ukrainian presidential candidate] by Yu. Kryl and S. Romanyuk; place and date not given: "Vyacheslav Chornovil: I Don't Like the Word 'Center'"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Vyacheslav Maksimovich, you have served time in jail for the ideas

now embodied in the documents adopted by the republic's parliament. I'm above all talking about the act of Ukrainian state independence. Consequently, can you sum up some political results?

[Chornovil] Only on a very arbitrary basis! I did indeed think that the Ukraine should be an autonomous independent state. That is our God-given right and it would have happened irrespective of any subjective causes. But every time any people raises the question of their right to decide their own destiny autonomously, there unfailingly appear forces wanting to prevent this. The most dangerous thing today is to succumb to euphoria, and still more dangerous to present matters as though the Ukraine's fate has been decided once and for all.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] It is claimed that the collapse of the former Union is a direct result of what happened in Moscow in August. The following aphorism has even emerged—there's nothing better than a bad coup.

[Chornovil] That's all talk... The coup only opened millions of people's eyes to the true aims of the CPSU system.

But let's take a look at how events developed in the Ukraine. During that period in August the people of the republic could hardly count on protection from Kiev officialdom.

The "People's Rada" and "Democratic Galicia" saved the Ukraine's honor by unequivocally condemning the putschists. But today we have found ourselves in a new political situation. After voting for Ukrainian independence, the democrats and Communists see this act as having different aims. I don't think that the former communist party parliamentary majority has radically changed its views. These people simply failed to withstand the onslaught of democratic forces and the logic of history itself. It is quite possible that many people still harbor the idea of retaining a Communist-type dictatorship in the Ukraine.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Are these hypotheses or conclusions based on definite facts?

[Chornovil] I think that I am a fairly responsible politician. Over the last few weeks I have visited many regions and had meetings with various people. My impressions are alarming. The secretaries of former raykoms and obkoms [rayon and oblast party committees] who won deputies' seats and took charge of soviets at various levels have suddenly abruptly disowned their former convictions and views. They often act as if it was they who stopped the putschists. Meanwhile former raykoms in their virtual entirety are moving into ispolkom [executive committee] offices and are continuing their old business. What's changed?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Is everyone really to blame just because of their CPSU membership?

[Chornovil] Not at all. But I will say one thing. In Lvov we found a document from the center backing the putsch dated 18 August. Many people—secretaries and cipher clerks—saw it a day before the putsch... But this information was not "leaked" out. No one blabbed to their wife, their son, or their mistress, if you like.

Incidentally, the only copy of this circular was only found because we were the first in the country to seal obkom offices.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What will happen to these people? In particular, in Galicia where they cannot take refuge with pro-Communist soviets?

[Chornovil] Everyone must be answerable before the law and only before the law. We will not organize a witch hunt. We forgive those who did not sully themselves. We will not force the 16,000 party functionaries left without work in the Ukraine to go underground. Let them work in their specialism. Whereas during the rare years between jail sentences I was forced to work as a stoker, while having a higher degree, that doesn't mean that only someone from among the former obkom secretaries can fill a vacancy in a boiler room.

I have been an anticommunist since I was a child. But if I was approached by a group of people professing the Communist idea and ready to form a party, the party would be registered without delay. Just like a club of beardless youths or a society of fools.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Vyacheslav Maksimovich, you are sure that the Ukraine is leaving the Union once and for all. What powers should the center retain, albeit initially?

[Chornovil] I don't like the word "center." There shouldn't be one at all. When people talk of some kind of coordinating role for it during the transitional period, I only partially agree with that. It is not the center that should tackle this, but full-fledged representative teams from the republics. It seems quite logical to me that Silayev's committee consists mainly of representatives of the Russian Federation. We are prepared to take on certain commitments, guided by interstate relations. But it is not in Moscow but in Kiev that we will decide the Ukraine's future. I am not afraid of recriminations that Silayev will divide up the Union in Russia's favor. The time for sharing out the common pie has passed. Principles of international law should take over. We have already laid the foundations of these relations with Russia...

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] I agree that most of the questions can be settled that way if there is good will. But how are nuclear weapons to be shared out? Boris Yeltsin, for instance, said that if the Ukraine and Kazakhstan leave the Union, nuclear weapons will be removed to Russia.

[Chornovil] On the same day I contacted the command of the Carpathian Military District, on whose territory

tactical nuclear weapons are sited covering the Ukrainian border from Izmail to Brest. As long as there is nothing to replace these weapons, we won't allow anyone to expose our borders. This question has already been put before the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

I don't think that there's any point in increasing the concentration of lethal missiles in Russia if the union state loses our republic's territory and potential. I see another way. The Ukraine has declared itself a nuclear-free state. During talks that the Union or Russia has with the United States, the nuclear potential in the Ukraine could primarily be cut back and destroyed. We would be a reliable guarantor that these agreements would be carried out.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mr. Chornovil, the nuclear question is only one of the contentious issues besetting Ukrainian-Russian relations. The territorial question was raised earlier.

[Chornovil] I have occasionally spoken very trenchantly about this, but I think that politicians should be particularly tactful here. We have a very long border with Russia and there are very many things linking us. Including certain mutual grievances and complaints. These questions are natural, born of history. What happened happened. But democratic Russia and the democratic Ukraine can only be free or not free together. We will never make territorial claims on anyone, but nor will we allow anyone to confront us with these questions.

Details of 11 Oct Chernobyl Accident Cited

PM1610142991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 91 p 1

[O. Musafirova report citing official record of Chernobyl fire, with comments by Ukrainian presidential contender Vladimir Yavorivskiy, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission for Questions of the Chernobyl Disaster: "It Was Horribly Reminiscent of April 1986"]

[Text] From the official accident log.

11 October, 2009 hours. When the second power unit's No. 4 turbogenerator was being taken out of operation the generator cut in asynchronously in motor mode. Short circuiting occurred, causing a fire. The turbogenerator cooling system, in which hydrogen is used, was disturbed as a re[illegible] powerful vibrations. The hydrogen exploded and ignited, and the roof of the machine shop collapsed (two spans and three girders, around 1,000 square meters).

2010 hours. The staff switched the generator off and started dealing with the accident—emergency draining of the turbine's main oil unit and expelling hydrogen from the generator cooling system.

2025 hours. Local fire fighters who arrived after being called started extinguishing the fire. Kiev and Chernigov fire-fighting units were alerted.

2032 hours. Spontaneous cutting in of the 330 kilovolt switch in the No. 4 system's No. 3 generator-transformer assembly was observed. The switch was immediately shut off.

Reactor No. 2 was cooled down and additional absorbents were placed in the reactor cores. There was no seal failure in the multiple forced circulation system.

2230 hours. The fire in generator No. 4 and the collapsed roof over the generator have been largely extinguished.

0150 hours. The state accident investigation commission started work. All automatic electrical components in the generator-transformer-4 assembly were sealed.

There were no casualties in the accident or fire.

Vladimir Yavorivskiy, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission for Questions of the Chernobyl Disaster and prospective Ukrainian presidential election candidate:

"Kiev and the Ukraine have experienced a terrible night. It reminded them of April 1986, which, incidentally, we will not be able to forget. We are all sitting on a powder keg called the Lenin Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station].

"The fire registered one point on the international scale accepted in atomic power engineering, because there was no radioactive discharge. But this point will cost the already depleted Ukrainian budget millions of rubles. Our parliament insisted and still insists on the need for immediate phased closure of stations before 1995. But the commission, which not so long ago represented the USSR Council of Ministers, has a different opinion—we should wait until the year 2000.... The stubbornness and influence of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation are stronger than common sense. But who can guarantee that an accident with a higher risk factor will not occur here again? There are no such guarantees.

"Some 37 million people drink water from the Dnepr, our main river. There are around 600 tonnes of uranium in the three reactors at the nearby Chernobyl AES. If this nuclear fuel gets into the Dnepr, the 'Ukrainian question' will take care of itself as far as the Union is concerned...."

Chernobyl Firefighters Praised

LD1610220291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The issue of the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES] is being examined by the collegium of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs. Our correspondent reports:

[Correspondent V. Lyaskalo] There is only one issue: the fire at the Chernobyl AES, an evaluation of their own actions, lessons, and conclusions. The fire was terrible, even from the point of view of experienced professionals. Equipment exploded, metal melted, and concrete burned. The roof collapsed a few seconds before 12 firemen were to have stepped on it. The name of Second Lieutenant Bolotnikov was often mentioned here, together with his firefighters, acting decisively and competently as he was trained, he cut off the fire from the reactor. The year 1986 did not repeat itself. But it is distressing that, as five years ago, people moved to the burning AES almost unequipped, without special suits, without respirators or individual radiation counters.

[A.V. Vasilishin, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs] That combat task was completed only thanks to the courage and bravery of our people. If earlier there was a union-wide program for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident, at present the program as such is only on paper. The Ukraine has been left on its own. Just imagine, even fences are being repaid by militia! Is it our responsibility? Just look, there is a debt of 25 million rubles yet to be paid to our people who work inside the zone. Can one put up with a situation when staffers of bodies of internal affairs and specialists are working side by side at the AES; the latter have benefits whereas the militia, firemen...[passage indistinct]...yes, they are being utterly discriminated against.

Georgia

Council Recognizes Uzbek Independence

LD1210150491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] The Georgian Supreme Council has adopted an address to the Uzbek Supreme Soviet regarding the declaration of its independence. In welcoming the struggle of the Uzbek people for freedom and democracy, the address says, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia recognizes the Uzbek Republic as an independent, sovereign state and a full entity of international law and expresses its readiness to begin talks at any time to establish diplomatic relations between the two states.

Government To Ban 'Practically All' Exports

OW1610173391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1450 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers has amended the earlier-adopted resolution on temporary measures to regulate Georgian exports of certain kinds of raw materials, food stuffs and industrial goods.

Now a ban has been imposed on the exports of practically all food stuffs, consumer goods and raw materials produced in the republic.

National Guard Reoccupies Opposition Site

LD1610222291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] As is already known, during the last few days the National Democratic Party of Georgia has managed to return to the headquarters from which its members were driven after the dispersal of the 5 October demonstration. However, they did not keep it for long. Last night, President Gamsakhurdia's guards again took over the building. At the present time, the building is being guarded by armed men from the pro-government militia.

Council Criticizes Military in South Ossetia

LD1610172991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Georgian parliament has sent an appeal to the leadership of the Union and the Russian Federation demanding that all internal troops be withdrawn from South Ossetia, calling their presence unlawful and accusing them of making violent attacks on civilians.

South Ossetian Developments at 'Critical Mark'

LD1610135591 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz October 16 TASS—The exacerbation of the socio-political situation in South Ossetia has attained a critical mark. According to reports by the press centre of the South Ossetia autonomous region's information committee, sporadic firing, explosions and shelling continued for several hours on the outskirts of Tskhinvali last night.

Residential areas and important municipal facilities were intensively shelled from large-calibre machine-guns, grenade launchers, anti-aircraft guns and hail-control systems from the direction of Georgian villages. Many of the facilities were considerably damaged. According to preliminary data, 12 wounded people were brought to the regional hospital.

The Ossetian side returned the fire, striking at militants' weapon emplacements.

Militants' groups are moving closer to Tskhinvali. They have fully cut off all detours, hindering the delivery of humanitarian aid supplies from Vladikavkaz.

A complex situation is keeping on in Znari township which is under incessant bombardment. All public buildings there have been destroyed, many houses damaged, and the supply of electricity and food has been cut off.

The leadership of the autonomous region today sent messages to the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Federation and to the parliament of Russia, setting out the people's demand that state-of- emergency regulations be immediately introduced throughout South Ossetia, that the question of the autonomous region's becoming part of the Russian Federation be considered.

The messages also convey a request to make urgent arrangements for the evacuation of children, women, old men and the wounded from South Ossetia.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan: No to Political Union

LD1610202891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] In an interview during a visit to a polling station, the main presidential candidate, perhaps the indisputable candidate, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, said that Armenia would under certain conditions sign the economic treaty but a political union was out of the question.

Council of Europe Membership Sought

NC1610164491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan has sent letters to Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; and Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe.

These letters reportedly say that the population of Armenia, exercising its constitutional right on 21 September 1991, expressed its desire to secede from the USSR structure. The Armenian Supreme Soviet, acting on the results of the referendum, proclaimed Armenian independence on 23 September.

Underlining that this method of manifestation of the people's will fully conforms with internationally accepted norms and assuring that the republic's authorities will establish their policies on the principles found in UN documents and would in all instances be guided by the principles calling for the creation of a law-based state and protection of the basic human freedoms and rights, Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that Armenia, isolated from international life for decades, today aspires to reestablish normal relations with Europe and reoccupy its place in the new European structures.

In the name of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Levon Ter-Petrosyan has requested that Armenia be granted membership in the Council of Europe.

Trade, Cooperation Agreement With Romania

NC1110205691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] The first interstate trade, economic, scientific,and technical cooperation agreement has been signed by Armenia and Romania.

The agreement was signed in Bucharest on 4 October by Armen Darbinyan, Armenia's first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and Constantin Fota, Romania's trade and tourism minister.

Darbinyan told an ARMENPRES correspondent that the agreement demonstrates the ties establishing economic and trade relations between different countries. Romania received us as an independent country, he added.

The delegation held contacts with two firms engaged in privatization work and examined prospects for cooperation between Armenia and Romania businessmen. Romania is as interested as we are in economic development and exchange of goods. We can trade and organize joint ventures. The Armenian Chamber of Commerce and various enterprises will work on this with Romanian enterprises.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov's Talks With Turkish Official Noted

NC1610081291 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov received General Dogan Gures, Turkish chief of the general staff, in Baku today. Gen. Gures has arrived in Baku as part of the program of his official visit to the Soviet Union. Mutalibov welcomed his guest and briefed him in detail on Azerbaijan's social, political, and economic situation. He said Azerbaijan, as in the case of the other Union republics, is currently taking steps to establish an independent state within the framework of the federation being established in the Soviet Union. Mutalibov asserted that while moving to strengthen Azerbaijan's inter-Union ties, the republic is trying to establish relations with all the other countries in the world in political and other fields. He also noted the importance of improving Azerbaijan's relations with Turkey.

Regarding Armenia's uninterrupted aggression, President Mutalibov said: Our republic entrusted the defense of our peaceful people to the units of the country's Armed Forces. But the incidents have proved that the central authority has limited the work of these units.

Mr. Mutalibov asserted that considering this state of affairs, the republic's leaders, complying with the will of the Azerbaijani people, have moved to establish Azerbaijan's national self-defense forces. He also noted that these forces will be defensive and will not threaten the sovereignty of neighboring countries.

At the end of the meeting, President Mutalibov expressed hope that Gen. Gures' visit to Baku will contribute toward the broadening of relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey.

Gen. Gures thanked his host for his briefing and conveyed President Turgut Ozal's best wishes to President Mutalibov and the Azerbaijani people. Furthermore, he presented a commemorative souvenir to President Mutalibov.

The following also attended the meeting: Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov; Defense Minister Barshatli; Foreign Affairs Minister Sadykhov; Rizayev, department chief of the presidential apparatus; [name indistinct], chief of the foreign relations department of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers; Colonel General Patrucheyev, commander of the red-bannered Transcaucasus Military District; Lieutenant General Sokolov, commander of [words indistinct]; Volkan Vural, Turkey's ambassador to Moscow; and high-ranking Turkish officers, who accompanied the guest to the Soviet Union.

Mutalibov Signs State Taxation Service Decree

NC1610081591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov has signed a decree establishing the Azerbaijan Republic State Taxation Service. The decree calls for establishing the taxation service through the (?incorporation) of the Azerbaijan main administration for taxation and the taxation departments in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, rayons, cities, and city districts. The decree assigned significant tasks to the republic's Council of Ministers in connection with the establishment of the taxation service.

The decree will be published in the newspapers.

Oppositon Favors Provisional Government

OW1610003691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1915 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The National Rebirth Party of Azerbaijan, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, and the Birlik Party have demanded forming a provisional government that should include members of the opposition.

The Baku newspaper VYSHKA (Oil Derrick) reports that the three parties also demand that the entire property of the CPSU be given over to other political organizations.

Expanded Ties Sought With Israel

TA1610140791 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov is interested in visiting Israel, and Azerbaijan wants to establish mutual representations in the two capitals to tighten cultural and economic ties. That news was reported by the Azerbaijani education minister to 'Uzi Narqis, the head of the Jewish Agency's Information Department, during the latter's visit to the capital Baku. Narqis also reported that his interlocutors in Azerbaijan stressed their republic's Muslim nature but added that it must not conflict with their desire to draw closer to Israel.

Nakhichevan-Armenia Dispute Terms Offered

PM1510132791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Bablumyan report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Geydar Aliyev Offers Armenians Agreement"]

[Text] Yerevan—Geydar Aliyev, chairman of Nakhichevan'a Supreme Majlis, has sent a cable to the authorities in Armenia's Megrinskiy Rayon proposing solutions to the conflict between the sides.

Armenian hostages held in Nakhichevan may be returned if Armenia's law-enforcement organs hand over to the Azerbaijan side the shepherds' killers as well as the people impeding normal railroad travel. Only then, G. Aliyev writes, will we be able to ask the families of the victims who were residents of Ordubad to return the hostages they took from Armenia's Megrinskiy Rayon.

"In an answering cable," Yenok Andriasyan, chairman of Megrinskiy Rayispolkom [Rayon Soviet Executive Committee], told IZVESTIYA over the telephone, "the rayon's leadership voiced confidence that all contentious issues can be resolved through talks that will gradually normalize relations between the two neighboring rayons. It has been suggested that all hostages on both sides be released immediately by way of a first step. The rayon has guaranteed trains safe passage on the Megrinskiy section."

Nakhichevan Rail Link Established Via Iran

NC1610200591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Based on reports from Baku, the INTERFAX news agency has reported that on 14 October a rail communication link was established between Azerbaijan and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic through Iranian territory and the Astara station. Freight cars loaded with foodstuff and fuel are being dispatched to Nakhichevan.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Right to Vote in Armenian Elections Debated

LD1410035191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Oct 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Oct (TASS)—The residents of Nagorno-Karabakh should participate in Armenia's first presidential elections, scheduled for this Wednesday. This is the belief of five of the six candidates for the Republic's supreme office of state. Ashot Navasardyan, Sos Sarkisyan, Zoriy Balayan, Rafael Kazaryan, and Paruyr Aykiryan have appealed to the Armenian Supreme Soviet and Central Electoral Commission, demanding that they "act immediately to uphold the constitutional right of the people of Karabakh to participate in the Republic's presidential elections."

The presidential candidates, and also three of their proposed vice presidents, cite the Armenian declaration of independence, and the decision of 1 December 1989 on the reunification of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. They point out that nothing has yet been done in the oblast to organize and prepare for the elections, although its people "enjoy the right of citizenship of the Armenian Republic."

The authors of the appeal, published here today, have stated that failure to hold Armenian presidential elections in Nagorno-Karabakh "will contravene fundamental rulings of the Republic, inflict damage upon the territorial integrity of Armenia and upon national concord, and threaten the reinstatement of independent statehood." In their opinion, the votes of Nagorno-Karabakh residents "could significantly influence the total number of votes cast in favor of any of the candidates" to become president of Armenia.

Cease-Fire Agreement Violations Reported

NC1610211491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] In spite of the decree allowing the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops to use their arms only in self-defense, servicemen in Nagorno-Karabakh are continuing to fire on unarmed citizens.

According to a report from the Internal Affairs Department of Nagorno-Karabakh, troops from the military commandant's office opened fire on three Armenian boys during the curfew on 14 October. The boys were trying to hide from the military detail. One of the citizens were injured. All civilian efforts to end the illegal use of arms by the servicemen have so far been to no avail.

The Azerbaijanis continue to violate the 9 October cease-fire agreement reached between the leadership of Stepanakert, Askeranskiy, and Shushenskiy Rayons. On 13 October, the Azerbaijanis fired on the Armenian village of Khnatsakh from the (?Dzhanulu) heights. Some residential houses and buildings were damaged. No residents were injured.

New Agreement Signed 15 Oct

LD1510211591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Another peace agreement has been signed in Nagorno-Karabakh—this time, between representatives of the Armenian and Azeri population of the village of Tug and the adjacent villages in Nagorno-Karabakh's Gadrutskiy Rayon. A TASS correspondent was told in the commandant's office of the state of emergency area that, through the mediation of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs officers, adopted a joint decision on a cease-fire, restoration of wrecked communications, and safety both for agricultural work and road travel. A reconciliation commission has been formed from representatives of both sides which is to monitor the implementation of the accords reached. The military are acting as observers. Signing peace agreements gives rise to hope, but, as a TASS correspondent points out, cease-fire accords reached in Nagorno-Karabakh, as in Yugoslavia, are often violated.

Food Delivery Problems Persist

PM1610092191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Special Correspondent V. Kaysyn report under the "Trouble Spots" rubric: "Second Step Toward Peace"]

[Text] Stepanakert—A conference has been held at the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] state of emergency commandant's office. Taking part were L. Petrosyan, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, and representatives of the authorities from Shushinskiy, Askeranskiy, and Stepanakertskiy Rayons under the mediation of the commandant's office for the Nagorno-Karabakh state of emergency region and adjacent rayons of the Azerbaijan Republic. Without waiting for the working groups of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan, a decision was adopted to cease firing on populated regions as of 11 October, ensure the safety of traffic along all the oblast's highways from 0800 hours on 12 October, work out a mechanism for coordinating the exchange of hostages, and also begin its implementation from 12 October.

The agreement was signed by M. Mirzoyan, chairman of Stepanakert City Soviet Executive Committee; M. Gezalov, chairman of Shushinskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee; and V. Kocharyan, chairman of Askeranskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee.

Immediately after the signing of the agreement I asked Colonel Anatoliy Golev, a direct participation in the conference, to comment. He said:

"Such conferences have been held a number of times, and the wish this time was to resolve the question of the cease-fire and the opening of the roads positively once and for all. As acting chief of the NKAO Internal Affairs Administration, I want to say that the opening of the roads will be a major event because there is only just enough food in the oblast and Stepanakert to meet the needs of the population of both nationalities. There is a total absence of communications today. Newspapers are not getting into the city. We are transporting the seriously injured by military helicopter. The medical supply situation is difficult. Furthermore, after Yeltsin's arrival the situation worsened in the town of Kirkidzhan (Kirkidzhakhan), where Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together. There have been casualties on both sides. Even though 10 tank trucks full of fuel, five freightcar-loads of flour, one carload of sugar, two loads of water melons, and one load of breads products were delivered to the town, by 9 October this was not enough."

In the words of V. Bayramov, chief of the Shushinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, matters are no better in the rayon center, Shusha. Here is what he said:

"On the whole the situation is normal but the war goes on. There is a shortage of food: bread, milk, flour, and sugar. There is no fuel. There is no transport even to

move the injured. The roads are closed. Medical deliveries are very rare. Enterprises and schools are working. It is distressing that in the fields there are potatoes which we could harvest if the military would agree to escort us. We would communicate with Agdam, 40 km away, but again this is dangerous without an escort. The people have grown tired. We want peace and calm."

When this piece had already been written I found out that 10 truckloads of flour had reached Shusha safely from Agdam.

Russian, Kazakh Observers Arrive

NC1610215391 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The Russian and Kazakh observers finally arrived in Stepanakert today within the framework of the peace mission undertaken by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev.

The Russian team is lead by Russian Federation people's Deputy Vladimir (?Destratora), deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's Interrepublican Relations Committee for Regional Policies and Cooperation. The Kazakh team is lead by the USSR People's Deputy Yorgul (?Alyevbekov), adviser to the Kazakh president.

The arrival coincides with the presidential elections in Armenia. It is interesting to note that Yeltsin and Nazarbayev visited Nagorno-Karabakh four weeks ago on the day when (?a referendum was being held in Armenia) [words indistinct].

The Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh are pinning hopes on [word indistinct] which the Russian and Kazakh negotiators would be implementing for the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and for the stabilization of the region's interethnic situation.

[Name indistinct], a member of the parliament of the republic of Nagorno-Karabakh, told an ARMENPRES correspondent: Let us hope that [words indistinct] (?these) observers would not act in a manner similar to the onetime USSR Supreme Soviet's Union Monitoring and Observation Commission on Nagorno-Karabakh lead by Vladimir Foteyev who created more obstacles then [word indistinct] in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Meetings Reported

LD1610173491 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert October 16 TASS—Observers from the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh today to fulfil a mediating mission.

They have come to the area after holding consultations with the Armenian and Azerbaidzhanian leaderships, said head of the Kazakh team of the mission, USSR People's Deputy Yerkin Auyelbekov.

The observers have met the leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh to discuss specific ways to provide for the normal progress of their mission. Chairman of the Executive Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Levon Ter-Petrosyan and representative of the Azerbaijanian President in Nagorno-Karabakh Zulfi Gadzhiyev assured the mediators that all necessary conditions will be created for their work.

Mission Termed 'Satisfactory'

LD1710095791 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 17 Oct 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert October 17 TASS—A group of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan continue their effortrs to normalise the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. Today, three working groups are leaving on military helicopters to study the situation in various districts of the region.

USSR Peopole's Deputy Yerkin Auyelbekov, leading the Kazakhstan group, told TASS that the results of the first day of their work in Nagorno-Karabakh are satisfactory. "We attentively listened to the Armenian and the Azerbaijani sides and Emergency District Commandant Major-General Boris Maksin and obtained data for our work," Auyelbekov said.

The first day was fruitful and the planned schedule was implemented, Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Podoprigora told TASS.

Kazakhstan

Supreme Soviet Sacks Prime Minister Karamanov

OW1710020891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2143 GMT 16 Oct 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" for "October 17, 1991"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Kazakhstan that had opened on Wednesday [16 October] sacked republican Premier Uzakbay Karamanov, replacing him with Sergey Tereshenko, one of the regional leaders.

The parliament elected Chairmen of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Yerik Asbanbayev republican vice-president and passed a law on the election of republican president.

Under the law, the president shall be elected by direct, secret and popular vote for a term of 5 years. A president can have two terms in office.

The republican presidential election has been set for December 1.

German Foreign Minister Genscher Arrives

LD1610174391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1721 GMT 16 Oct 91

[By TAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 16 Oct (TASS)—Late this evening German Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in the capital of Kazakhstan on an official visit.

It is expected that in the course of his one-day stay in Alma-Ata the guest will meet Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and other republican leaders. It is also planned that Mr. Genscher will hold a meeting with the German community of Kazakhstan and with the editorial staff of the local newspaper DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE.

In the view of local political figures, the visit by the head of the German diplomatic department could significantly advance the development of multilateral, direct cooperation between Kazakhstan and the FRG. It is also not ruled out here that the issue of an exchange of consul generals could be settled during the forthcoming talks.

Mr. Genscher is to leave for Kiev on the evening of 17 October.

Alma-Ata Meeting Views New Party Formation

LD1110193191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian at 1630 GMT on 5 October broadcasts a 1.5-minute report on a meeting in Alma-Ata on 5 October which discussed the creation of a new party. The party is to be called the People's Congress of Kazakhstan [Narodnyy Kongres Kazakhstana].

Correspondent D. Baymbetov reports over video of the conference in progress that [Kazakh President] Nursultan Nazarbayev spoke at the conference, and that deputies discussed the program and rules of the new political organization. Baymbetov then introduces "one of the cochairman of the congress' organizing committee, USSR People's Deputy Olzhas Suleymenov."

The video shows Suleymenov addressing camera, surrounded by people outside an unidentified building. Suleymenov says: "Our party, the People's Congress, unites people of all nationalities in Kazakhstan, of all ranks, of all classes, and all religions. We are convinced that by protecting the interests of everyone, we can together and only together achieve those ideals which all parties strive for, both class and national parties."

Kyrgyzstan

$100-Million Loan Offered by U.S. Firm

PM1610150991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Ryabushkin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Capitalism Steps Into Kyrgyzstan"]

[Text] Western businessmen are becoming increasingly convinced of the stability and foresight of the policy of the republic's president, A. Akayev, and are starting to invest their money in Kyrgyzstan's economy.

Samuel Sternfeld, the head of the famous U.S. "Sternfeld Financial Group," has offered the republic an advantageous long-term credit of $100 million.

The businessman's letter notes that he made this offer on the advice of Mr. Aytmatov, ambassador to Luxembourg.

Local authorities intend to invest these resources in modernizing the capital's "Manas" airport, raise it to international standard, obtain passenger and transport aircraft, start commercial flights, and open international routes.

According to A. Akayev, the republic has already received credits worth around $250 million. Of these, $200 million has come from South Korea, and $50 million from Italy and Spain. All this comes under the long-term preferential state credit granted within the framework of assistance. It has gone into the organization of the manufacture of color televisions and microwave ovens, and the purchase of automated cigarette factories.

Tajikistan

'Compromise' Eases Political Stalemate

92US0053A Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Oct 91 p 1

[By correspondent B. Ashurov: "Tajikistan at a Crossroads"]

[Text] A confrontation between the parliament and the opposition forces of the Republic of Tajikistan lasted for a month and a half with short interludes. Within a short period of time, the president and two chairmen of the Supreme Soviet of the republic resigned. The last of them, Rakhman Nabiyev, discontinued his operations for the duration of the election campaign for the post of president of Tajikistan.

The reshuffling of the leaders in the supreme echelon of power is a reflection of heavy fighting in the political arena. The Communist Party stood behind ex-President Kakhar Makhkamov. Until recently, he was both head of the republic and the leader of its communist organization. This circumstance left an imprint on the style of his activities. An attempt of just one ruling party to hold on to power at all costs ended in the demise of first its leader and subsequently of the political organization he headed.

Kadriddin Aslonov took the place of Kakhar Makhkamov. The process of an offensive by the opposition forces (the Islamic Party "Rebirth," the Rastokhez mass movement, and the Democratic Party of Tajikistan) grew stronger after his advent to the pinnacle of power. Resigning from the membership of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic and leaving the CPSU were the first political steps by K. Aslonov. His next step was to issue an ukase liquidating the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

A statement at a session of the parliament on resigning from the post of acting president, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, was his last step. The deputies of parliament abolished the ukase concerning the dissolution of the Communist Party, calling it illegal.

Rakhman Nabiyev, leader of the republic society for the protection of nature, was elected the new chairman of the parliament. However, he could not come to a political compromise with the opposition either. Even meeting the two main demands of the opposition by the session—to lift a state of emergency and to suspend the activities of the Communist Party until the degree of its complicity in the events of 19 through 21 August in the city of Moscow is determined—did not bring about the desired peace and quiet in the republic.

A marathon rally of the opposition forces lasted 15 days and nights. A compromise was finally found with the help of representatives of the USSR president, members of the Supreme Political Consultative Council A. Sobchak and Ye. Velikhov. As a result of negotiations, a resolution of the Presidium of the Republic of Tajikistan was adopted. According to the resolution, an entire package of proposals and recommendations will be submitted to a regular session of the republic parliament. The first proposal is to repeal legislative acts which are aimed at prohibiting parties of a religious nature. The second is to reschedule the date of electing the president of the republic to 24 November of this year, and at the same time to hold a popular vote of confidence in the Supreme Soviet.

In addition, the republic Cabinet of Ministers was instructed to review and resolve, before the end of this year, the issue of creating an independent television and radio company. It was resolved that in the future, until the company is created, all political parties and mass movements would be given equal air time. It was proposed that they suspend the holding of any politically motivated rallies or demonstrations, with the exception of election ones, for the duration of the election campaign. It was resolved to include representatives of all political forces on an equal footing in the commission set up to suspend the operation of the Communist Party. On 13 October all official Communist Party premises and buildings will be sealed.

After the adoption of this document, participants in the rally dispersed. Hunger strikers discontinued their action.

Media Objectivity Urged To Aid Stability

PM1610143391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 91 p 3

["Own Information" report: "First Estate Asks the Fourth"]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Tajik Republic Supreme Soviet has adopted an appeal to the mass media. It says in particular that in the independent republic an acute situation has developed as a result of the confrontation between various political forces prior to the republic presidential elections scheduled for 27 October and the continuing deterioration of the situation in the republic's economy.

The republic's Supreme Soviet considers it its paramount duty to the Tajik people to ensure stability in society and prevent the aggravation of civil confrontation and interethnic strife and the persecution of citizens for political reasons.

The appeal expresses the hope that the mass media can make a significant contribution to stabilizing the situation in the republic if they convey objective information to people. Here it is necessary to bear in mind that only the republic's Supreme Soviet has the right to speak on the people's behalf, expressing the will not of individual groups and political movements but of the republic's whole population. The one-sided and often incomplete information on events in Tajikistan which has been disseminated in recent days via the republic's mass media does not help to achieve social accord, sets the people against the legally elected organs of power, and can lead to the further aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic.

The Tajik Republic Supreme Soviet has asked all the mass media to assess the situation in Tajikistan objectively.